THE MAIN THEMES OF THE "OLMEC" ART TRADITION[1]

Tillie Smith
Graduate Student, Anthropology
University of California

Of all the great art of Pre-Columbian Mesoamerica, perhaps the most baffling and controversial is that which is called "Olmec." The name comes from Aztec historians who had legends of Olmecs, people believed by them to be native to the "rubber lands," where are now the Mexican states of Veracruz and Tabasco. One legend was that they were very ancient, the creators of art and science--another legend, that they flourished shortly before historical times, and so on. Their great antiquity was recognized, and an attempt was made to call them the "La Venta Culture" after their main site, but the name "Olmec" prevailed (Covarrubias, 1957:52-53). It is usually written with quotation marks to distinguish it from any other Olmecs, but as we are discussing the prehistoric La Venta Olmecs only, we may dispense with the quotation marks.

This paper is an attempt to establish a criterion for the art style that is called Olmec, by describing in words and drawings its chief elements, ritual and decorative, that seem to set it off in a class by itself. It will also try to show that some features of many of the large stone sculptures, in the main, do not occur often enough to be classed as Olmec, especially since some of these features are well-known in other art styles. An attempt will be made also to explain the presence of these intrusive elements, the possible reasons for the Olmec's choice of themes; and to present a reasonable hypothesis for their early florescence.

The Olmecs, as far as we know, restricted themselves to sculpture in clay and stone, in the round and in relief. They carved jade and other green stones (Covarrubias, 1957:54-55), buried mosaic pavements and gigantic jaguar masks of polished green stone celts, earplugs, plaques, beads, and some skillfully ground and polished mirrors (Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959).

The most notable characteristic of Olmec art is anthropomorphism, combining the jaguar and the human. The figures are fat, stocky beings, wide-jawed, pug-nosed, thick-lipped, with mongoloid eyes and deformed heads. They have little or no clothing but may wear helmets and some ornaments. They are usually shown without decoration, and with simple almost geometric soft curves and rectangles (Covarrubias, 1943:46). A strong feline appearance always prevails, coupled with an infantile character and facial expression--maybe a totem, half jaguar-half baby. Sometimes the snarling mouth of the jaguar is toothless like a baby's. The Olmecs represented a peculiar type of human of solid, ample masses, powerful and squat, resembling some of the Indians of present-day Southern Mexico (Covarrubias, 1957:54-57).

Minor themes are some birds and marine forms and rare realistic snakes, which in two cases may have plumes.

Decorative elements that are common are: open and closed rectangles, with rounded corners, L-shaped or wider-angled elements with split or notched ends, notched rectangles or thick-armed truncated V's, flaring U-shaped with

outcurved tips, simple and rather short, stiff feather motifs, and sporadic elements such as X's, monkeys, scrolls, triangles, beards, etc. (Drucker, 1952:204).

Painting, except on pottery, is not known (Drucker, 1952). Many offerings were dusted with red cinnabar. There is little evidence of architecture, except for a few pyramids, and the basalt column-ringed tomb and ceremonial plaza at La Venta.

Olmec art is in three main categories, described as follows:

1. The work in clay consists of pottery, some of it painted, but mostly incised before and after firing, and small figurines also decorated with incising, modelling, applique and punctation.

2. Resembling the clay figurines are the ones of jade, serpentine and other green stones. At La Venta there are also found plaques, plain and engraved polished celts, earplugs, beads and other jade ornaments. There also exist large numbers of axes, celts, masks and statuettes of undeniably Olmec style found in nearby areas of Guerrero, Oaxaca, Tabasco, Chiapas and Veracruz, now in private and museum collections. There are many other peices, of unknown provenience, some of which may be of post-La Venta times (Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959: 144). A peculiar Olmec custom was the construction and burying of massive pavements, jaguar mask mosaics, and numbers of beautifully ground and polished serpentine celts (some decorated), figurines, mirrors, and other jade objects.

3. The third major division of Olmec art includes the large stone sculptures, mostly of basalt; and rock-carvings. This is subdivided into monumental heads, stelae, altars, statues, stone coffers and boxes and the large undecorated blocks and columns. Although they are different in style and subject matter from the small objects and each other, almost all can be identified as Olmec, because of the presence of one or more elements of style in all of them.

The chief locale is in Southern Veracruz and West Tabasco in Mexico (Drucker, 1952:225-226, and see end map), with La Venta, Tabasco as its center (Stirling, 1955:56). There was at least one period of occupation in Tres Zapotes, Veracruz (Drucker, 1952:47; Covarrubias, 1954:84). Another important area is San Lorenzo, comprising three sites: Río Chiquito, Potrero Nuevo and San Lorenzo Tenochtitlán, at the bend of the Coatzacoalcos River in Veracruz (Stirling, 1955:22). The newest site, Laguna de los Cerros, Veracruz seems to be mixed, but has a number of Olmec objects (Medellin Zenil:1960). Cerro de las Mesas, near Alvarado, Veracruz was believed to be another, but it actually has yielded little that is Olmec, and is more than likely to have been an outpost of the Central Mexican highlands (Drucker, 1952:215 and 1955:66) or of Central Veracruz.

In a paper to be included in the HANDBOOK OF MIDDLE AMERICAN INDIANS, to be published soon, Michael Coe describes the general Olmec area as follows:

> . . . about 350 km. long in Southeastern Veracruz and Western Tabasco and extending no more than 100 km. inland from the shore of the Gulf of Mexico. On the Northwest . . . bounded by the upper reaches of the Río Blanco by the western shore of the Laguna de Alvarado, and on the east by the lower Grijalva River. . . . This generally low-lying tropical region was the locus classicus of the ancient Olmec civilization (Coe, 1962 ms.).

This agrees in general with a survey of sites in the area made and reported by Drucker and Contreras (1953). A map of this area is included at the end of this

paper, in which the boundaries have been extended, in order to include most of the places discussed.

Professor Coe (ibid:2) divides the above area into three sub-areas:

1. Mixtequilla--the area around the Laguna de Alvarado, which includes Cerro de las Mesas and Cerro de la Piedra, in which has also been found many pieces of Olmec Art that are in private collections. This might be regarded as the outskirts of primary Olmec influence.

2. Tuxtlas--including the Tuxtla Mountains and the coastal plain below. This is the source of the basalt used for the columns and most of the great stone sculptures of the Olmec. Tres Zapotes is the most important site here. The San Martín Pajapán volcano, on which is the colossal Olmec statue, and the town of Santiago Tuxtla, in which rests the second Tres Zapotes great stone head is also in this region.

3. North Isthmian Plain (Tehuantepec)--"comprising the lower reaches of the Coatzacoalcos and Tonalá Rivers. Most of the Olmec sites we know of, are in this area" (loc. cit.). The largest ones are La Venta, San Lorenzo and Laguna de los Cerros.

It is believed by many that at one time the Central Mexican highland sites of Tlatilco, Gualupita and probably Chalcatzingo were strongly influenced by the Olmecs, if not actual outposts (Vaillant, 1950; Covarrubias, 1957; Drucker, 1952:227-229). The large body of Olmec artifacts that appear in many collections may be trade objects, or creations of Olmec cultists in other areas after the fall of La Venta (Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959:299), and the presence of rock-carvings in Olmec style in such far-away places as San Isidro Piedra Parada, Guatemala and Chalchuapa, El Salvador, is evidence of diffusion, the significance of which is not understood as yet.

The large stone monuments show differences in style that may indicate that they were made at some other period than the small pieces. There is also the possibility that these differences are due to the different materials used and the scope and purpose of these works, demanding separate techniques and technicians, different styles and subject matter. However they are generally related by at least one important shared feature--mainly the drilled pit or gouge in the corners of the mouth.

The culture is identified in this paper with a time period that is generally termed the Pre-Classic or Formative of Middle America. This identification is based on two kinds of evidence:

1. An averaging of nine radiocarbon dates for the construction phases I through IV of the ceremonial court of La Venta, which extends from around 800 B.C. to 400 B.C. (Drucker, Heizer, and Squier, 1959:264-267).

2. The stylistic evidence of contemporaneity with Middle Tres Zapotes, which is placed in the Middle Pre-Classic (Drucker, 1952).

There are a number of problems associated with this subject. One of them is the result of the fact that we find here all the phases of an evolving art form from naturalistic to stylization and abstraction, at a site (La Venta) that cannot be described as other than a one-period site as yet.

The belief of many that abstract forms are usually the earliest in an art style seems to be supported here, by the fact of the abstract geometric mosaic

jaguar mask being in the deeper layers, the stylized figurines in higher levels, and not far from the surface, the larger more realistic stone sculptures, including the great stone heads which are perfectly representational.

As a result there are many who believe that the larger works were made later than the figurines and jaguar mosaics. An exponent of this position is George Kubler (1962), who, while accepting the carbon dates for La Venta, rejects them for the larger sculptures, especially the stone heads of San Lorenzo, which he believes are the culmination of the development of the art style and therefore must have been made later, probably around 200 A.D. He cites as support, what he considers a similar development in Classic Greek and Early Gothic art (ibid.:333-334, note 12).

On the other hand, the noted Paleolithic cave art expert, Dr. Herbert Kühn has expressed in lectures and writings (1955, 1956), the conviction that the first art was naturalistic, gradually becoming less and less so until completely abstract, afterwards beginning a new cycle of development through time. This thesis is based on the evidence of the Franco-Cantabrian caves, which is indeed the earliest art we know, and this art, certainly is naturalistic. He demonstrates that the later Ice Age pictures, some of which are superimposed on others, begin to get more stylized and then we have the evidence of the Mesolithic and Neolithic rock art of increasing stylization to abstract geometric forms.

He is also convinced that this cycle is repeated with the naturalism of Classic Greek and Roman art, becoming more stylized to abstract in the Byzantine period, and the cycle being repeated again with the representational style of the Renaissance, then Impressionism, Expressionism, Cubism, Non-Objective to "free form."

I believe that there is much that is valid in both views. On sight, it is often impossible to decide if a very abstract form is a late development, a sophisticated, deliberate submergence of form to design, or a crude, inept attempt to depict realism. Until these forms can be located within definite archaeological contexts or can be associated with other dated artifacts, we cannot really say one form is earlier than another, only that they are different. If there are development stages in Olmec art, these have still to be determined.

The most serious problem is the confusion as to what is Olmec. It is repeatedly termed, a civilization, a mother culture, a religious cult, and other things. But the only concrete evidence we have is a group of art works sharing common elements of style.

Also because La Venta is accepted as the type site for Olmec, and this is, I believe, valid, all the pieces of sculpture there do not necessarily have to be Olmec. Since I consider Olmec to be a particular style of art, those objects that do not seem to be in this style are not, to me, Olmec. When I designate them as later, it is because I see similarities in them to sculptures in other areas, that flourished in much later times than the dates we accept for La Venta. Let me say here, that I am not applying this distinction to the monumental stone heads, which I feel are faithful to the Olmec style in every way. Whether the sculptures in question were made by the same people who made the Olmec objects or their descendants or different peoples entirely, is something that we do not know at this time.

The Olmec culture or civilization, if there was one, presents another problem, in that it has seemed to be, for such a highly developed and complex

style, early by about 1000 years, in the New World. If we accept the radiocarbon dates, then we must accept along with this, the assumption that the apogee of culture and civilization for all those famous in Mesoamerica, known as Classic; the Maya, Teotihuacán, Monte Albán, Tajín, Central Veracruz; did not reach this high stage until La Venta had been abandoned and been gathering dust for at least 300 years.

The answer to this problem and all the other ones of pre-Columbian American life, which are legion, lies of course in the need for more archaeological work.

I quote here, in support of the above, Professor Coe:

> [This] . . . is certainly one of the richest archaeological zones of the world, probably having the highest density of pre-Columbian sites per sq. km. in Mesoamerica. Almost all of these are relatively unplanned groups of earthen mounds dotting the humid coastal plains, the majority of them totally unexplored. The frequency of such groups is so great that one may drive for 11 km. along the road . . . and never be out of sight of the mounds (1962 ms.).

Olmec Ceramic Art

Olmec ceramics are subdivided into pottery and figurines. The pottery is again subdivided into painted wares and monochrome with designs incised, impressed or modelled. Most of the evidence is from sherds.

There are very few painted sherds from La Venta and none (Weiant, 1943: 123) from Middle Tres Zapotes A. All are of common local wares, painted in one color only and in heavy lines. The examples used here are all on Brown Ware, Figure 2 with black and the others in red (Figures 1 and 3). It is very likely that there was a larger proportion of painted pottery at La Venta that is not recoverable because of poor preservation conditions (Drucker, 1952:147). At Tres Zapotes painted wares begin with Middle Tres Zapotes B, but it seems to us that this type is too late for La Venta because of the presence in that stratigraphic layer of so much material from the Central Mexican Highlands (Weiant, 1943:123).

Almost all types of potsherds are largely decorated with incising before or after firing, or stamping or modelling. The types of pottery from La Venta are named for the pastes and their surfaces: Coarse Buff, Coarse Black, Coarse Brown, Coarse White, Coarse Red, Fine Paste Buff-Orange and Fine Paste Grey-Black (Drucker, 1952:81-102). The decorations are mostly of abstract rectilinear or curvilinear patterns (Figures 4-9, 13) but some are more representational such as Figure 10, a bird's head; Figure 11, a schematic finger; or Figure 12, an eye. There are some effigy bowls too: a stylized jaguar (Figure 14), and one that may be either a frog or an owl (Figure 15). Figures 7 and 12 are prefired and the others are incised after firing.

The La Venta clay figurines conform to those of Lower Tres Zapotes types I-A/1 and 2, called Middle Tres Zapotes A and C. Most consistent characteristics are punctations like drilled pits in the eyes, nose and mouth and heavy face outlines. Bodies all have repression or suppression of sexual features, accentuation of rounded muscle masses and much realistic proportion (Drucker, 1952:210).

La Venta ceramic figurines are classified by Drucker (1952) in three main styles, indicated by Roman numerals; these styles then subdivided into

classes, indicated by capital letters, and then further subdivided into types, indicated by Arabic numerals. This is sometimes followed by a small letter for a further division, such as Type I-A-1a, etc. Besides the aforementioned attributes of style, there are other features such as hair by vertical incisions, often with a forelock; or turbans, some quite elaborate; beards; various amounts of ornament and clothing from scant to elaborate; baby-faces; aged faces; and technique either punctated and/or incised or modelled; often trimmed with applique, some crude and others quite carefully smoothed and finished (Figures 16-27).

Hybrid forms can be designated by combining the keys for the types involved, such as a II-A-1 form modified by an addition of some feature of Style I, then classed as II-A-1/I (Drucker, 1952:137).

The clay heads and figurines seem to show two human types, the one mentioned above, infantile and fleshy and some that are bearded, with aquiline noses (Figure 28) (Covarrubias, 1954:96). There are also animal figurines not classified (Drucker, 1952:138-139), but they show relations to the Style I figurines. Animals represented are jaguars, crested birds (Figure 29), coatamundi, and some were once whistles.

Although the ceramics do not have the technical skill of the stone sculptures they conform to the style of the jade pieces in similarity of head shape, continuing the drilled pits in the eyes, noses, ears and mouths as well as similarity in shape, which are similarly rounded and in proportion.

Objections have been made as to the similarity of Tres Zapotes and La Venta ceramics by Weiant (1943) and Coe (1962 ms.), also that they are not contemporaneous. I have however, accepted the conclusions of Drucker (1943, 1943a, & 1952), and believe the illustrations substantiate this.

Small Stone Objects

The most famous and longest known representatives of Olmec art are the small carvings of stone or jade, jadeite, serpentine and other green stone. These pieces are the most notable exemplifications of the features that are characteristic of this art.

In this group are the well-known anthropomorphic axes of jadeite, quartz, basalt and limestone, celts both plain and engraved, many small jade ornaments such as gorgets, plaques, beads (also in amethyst and crystal), earplugs, awls, needles and hooks, obsidian awls or cores, and mirrors of magnetite, hematite and ilmenite. This includes what is most outstanding--the figurines of jade, serpentine, steatite, hematite and basalt that represent human adults, babies, dwarfs, jaguar-men and jaguars. The statuettes are standing, sitting cross-legged or reclining (Covarrubias, 1947:70-75).

The techniques employed by the lapidaries were cutting, abrading stone, crumbling by percussion, drilling with solid and tubular drills and polishing. Holes were made in thin plaques and tubular beads several inches long, some very minute (Covarrubias, 1957:55). A probable method of making the figurines was to shape the features with strategically placed drill holes, then to saw the stone with flint instruments, then all the surplus material was drilled or pecked away and all surfaces smoothed with abrasives and water. The high polish was probably obtained by rubbing the wet stone against the bark of bamboo which is rich in silica (Covarrubias, 1954:112).

The Figurines of La Venta

The most significant features of the jade and serpentine figurines of La Venta are:

1. An elongated head outline with great bigonial width and massiveness of jaws. Shapes vary from an elongated rectangle, to piriform, widest at the base (Figures 30-34).

2. Eye sockets of deep-drilled pits, usually blunt-ended ellipses, probably inlaid with contrasting material, oriented from straight to down-slanting outer corners (Figures 35-37).

3. Nose broad with flaring nostrils, little or no space between it and the upper lip (Figure 38).

4. Mouth varies little from slight droop at corners and drilled pits (Figures 39, 40).

5. Ears are long and narrow and angular, invariably perforated (Figures 41-43).

Total effect is broad face, heavy jowls, thick features and full lips (Drucker, 1952:185-192).

Bodies are treated with simplified realism, minor details such as hands and feet suppressed (Figures 44-49). The only ornaments are suggestions of breechclouts or garments on some (Figures 50-52) (Drucker, 1952:192).

Stone Celts and Ornaments

The decorated polished stone celts of La Venta were mainly discovered in caches and offerings, along with far more numerous amounts of undecorated stones (Figures 53-58).

There was much use made of very large quantities of undecorated ground and polished stone celts. Besides being deposited in caches with or without decorated celts, figurines or ornaments, they were used to construct pavements that were immediately covered over with others in a series, the series then being covered over with a floor of colored clay. The most spectacular variation of these were the two great mosaic jaguar masks which were also immediately buried under a colored clay floor (Figure 59).

Many of the buried offerings included small jade ornaments, such as beads, spangles, earplugs (Figure 60), pendants (Figure 61), small plaques (Figure 62), maskettes (Figure 63), some obsidian objects, rock crystal and amethyst beads and skillfully ground and polished mirrors of magnetite, hematite and ilmenite, besides other small objects, one with a bird or serpent design (Figure 64).

"Votive Axes"

For a long time there have been Olmec stone carvings found in various places out of the general Olmec area, besides others that have turned up in various private collections. A number of these have been known for a long time and have caused some excitement and much admiration long before the excavations at La Venta. They tend for the most part to represent jaguars, jaguar-men, babies and "baby-faced" dwarfs, and are made of many kinds of stone, principally jade. Others are of serpentine, quartz, basalt, granite, hematite; besides a few of clay and one of wood (Figures 65-69 and 409-414).

The figurines and the "votive axes" are the purest examples of Olmec art and provide the main identifying features for the style in other media.

The Large Stone Monuments

The monumental stone works consist of the great stone heads, of which there are now eleven and described as "fat youthful persons with Negroid features wearing 'football helmets'" (Covarrubias, 1957:65); altars, some recessed in front and containing a human figure, seated cross-legged, some with babies in their arms, and carved on the sides and/or back with other humans, animals or abstract designs and flat tops like that of a table; stelae, as in other Mesoamerican cultures, which are usually undressed blocks of stone with one side carved in low relief of many figures (Covarrubias, 1957:65-70); and an assortment of various large sculptures in the round of humans, animals, stone coffers, boxes and unidentifiable large stone pieces. Besides these are the great undecorated basalt blocks and columns that enclosed the tomb and the ceremonial court at La Venta.

The features of the stone monuments are generally realistic, only two show elongated head deformation and two have deep-drilled eyes. Only Monument 8 has stylized ears like the figurines. In almost every case that is not too eroded, noses and mouths are realistically and simply portrayed, hands and feet in every instance simplified. Lack of superfluous decoration holds good for almost all, and are related in some way to the other objects through the recurrence of familiar modes of representation and motifs. Profile views are also alike. However baby and/or dwarf themes in the art are not so common in these works (Drucker, 1952:185-192).

The Stone Heads

The most extraordinary of all the works of the Olmec are the great stone heads. There is nothing like them anywhere else. So far there are now known to be eleven: one from Tres Zapotes, four from La Venta and five of San Lorenzo, besides one that is on exhibition in a park in Santiago Tuxtla, Veracruz, that seems to me to be clearly of Tres Zapotes, and which I call in this paper the second Tres Zapotes head. They are powerfully carved in the "likeness of a flat-nosed, thick-lipped Negroid man's head, wearing a headdress that looks like a football player's helmet" (Covarrubias, 1954:84). All share the characteristic smooth plane surface at the back full length and except for Monument 2, San Lorenzo (also Monument 4, La Venta and the second Tres Zapotes head), are devoid of decoration there. They may have originally been painted, from the looks of a broken piece of Monument 4, La Venta (Stirling, 1955:231). All wear helmets, sideburns (or parts of chin-straps), and large earplugs (Covarrubias, 1954:89).

They are similar, but each one is different enough to suggest that they may be actual portraits (Stirling, 1955:20-22). Moreover, there seems to me to be a clear affinity of one head to another of each particular site.

The heads of Tres Zapotes have wider, more pushed-together faces and possibly the most Negroid (Figures 70 and 71). Most interesting is the back of the second Tres Zapotes head, showing that the person wears a sort of headcloth, bordered with tassels, or feathers, which hang down the back of the head (Figure 72). (Illustrations of the second Tres Zapotes head are made from color slides loaned by Professor R. F. Heizer.)

The colossal heads at La Venta, except for the first one, are unfortunately eroded. They look very much alike, but the helmet of the fourth is quite

different, especially at the back (Figure 73). Their expressions are generally pleasant--Monument 3 may be smiling and Monument 2 definitely is (Figures 74-77).

At San Lorenzo we have perhaps the most well-made and most beautiful colossal heads. They are very well preserved for the most part, probably because they were overturned and buried. Monument 1 looks most like the first colossal head of La Venta, especially in the helmet (Figure 78) and has more than once been confused with it (Notas mundiales in YAN, 1954:129, and Coe, 1962 are two examples of this). Monument 2 is quite eroded, but it shows a different headdress than the others (Figure 79). (I have not been able to procure an illustration of the back of this head.) Monument 3 has very large eyes and the helmet, like that of the fourth head, is made partially of something that looks like rope (Figure 80). Monument 4 (Figure 81 and cover) has a very appealing sorrowful expression and is quite elongated, although one of the shortest in height. One of the finest of all the colossal heads is Monument 5. The profile is in full relief instead of being somewhat flattened as the others at this site (Figure 82). This helmet is also different (Figure 83). The expression is sad, stern and wise (Figure 84). The San Lorenzo heads are notable for their expressiveness. The deep lines between the eyes and over the nose may be a contributing factor to this (Figure 85).

The colossal heads vary from about 4 and 5 feet high for the Tres Zapotes examples, 6 feet and 8 feet high for those of La Venta and 5.5 to 9 feet high for the heads of San Lorenzo. Only the first Tres Zapotes head and the four at La Venta were in situ. The location of the second Tres Zapotes head has already been noted and the San Lorenzo heads were all toppled and buried. It is possible that their positions were important as three at La Venta were in a row facing north, 200 yards north of the big mound (Stirling, 1943:37). Monument 1 was south of this mound and facing south. The Tres Zapotes Monument A was placed in front of the south mound at that site and faces north (Stirling, 1943:17).

Although they are not jaguar or "baby" faced, the colossal heads show the full drooping lips, wide flat noses, round full faces and stylized ears characteristic of Olmec art. What is more significant is that in every case, as far as can be determined from the available photographs, on each one, the corners of the mouth are either pits or gouged out. Also the peculiar headdresses resemble those of some stone figurines and other sculptures (see Figures 109, 136, 172, 174, 185, 319, 411). They are believed to be very early, either of the La Venta period or even Lower Tres Zapotes, from the positions of those in situ (Stirling, 1943:31). Although they are different from other Olmec art, they employ the major features of the art style. This last however could be explained by the possibility that local people were used as models for all the works, only stylized in some to look more like jaguars, which animal may have been a totem ancestor as has been suggested by Covarrubias countless times. They may also have all been done by one person, using local people in each place for models.

Altars and Stelae

There are at La Venta seven large sculptures designated as altars. Altar 1 is a broken portion of the upper part of a large jaguar's head. Altar 2 has a niche, in which sits cross-legged, a person with a baby in his arms. It is very badly damaged. Altar 3 is also in bad shape but some details can be seen. The central figure sits in a niche with his legs crossed (Figure 86), and wears

a sort of tall conical hat (Figure 87). At the side of the niche is a figure that looks female (Figure 88), wearing a skirt and footgear that resembles boots (Figure 89). On the back two people sit facing one another conversing. The one on the left has a little beard (Figure 90) and wears a loin cloth and shoulder pads (Figure 91). The one on the right has a bigger beard (Figure 92) and a hat with a bird's head (Figure 93). He wears a fancier loincloth (Figure 94).

Altar 4 is broken but the details are quite clear. It is a table-top altar with a niche in front, in which there is again a seated cross-legged figure, now grasping two ends of a rope in his hands. This rope runs around the bottom of the altar to a figure in low relief on the south side. Over the niche is a stylized jaguar face (Figure 95) and around the opening are some designs (Figure 96 and 404).

Altar 5 is the famous "quintuplet" altar, because it seems to feature five infants or dwarfs in the arms of adults. The principle figure (in the round) emerges from a niche holding an unmistakable infant (Figure 97) in his arms, and seated cross-legged of course. He wears a tall cap with an ornament in front, that is a small jaguar mask (Figure 98). On each side are seated (in relief) two personages (Figures 99-102), wearing strange hats (Figures 103-105) and capes, holding each a figure in his arms that has been described by most observers as babies or dwarfs ". . . resisting or trying to escape" (Covarrubias, 1954:90). The faces of the dwarfs may be masks--two have lines from the back of the head to the jaw angle (Drucker, 1952:190). Because of the unnatural poses and the fact that the arms and legs seem too long for babies, I think that one could also interpret them as monkeys. It is true that they have human feet and hands but other representations of babies and dwarfs are always correct anatomically. There is a monkey statue at La Venta (see Figure 145) and there are many clay figurine monkeys from Tres Zapotes. One head (Figure 101) may not be a mask but the actual head of a howler monkey, which species is native to the area.

Altar 6 is much cruder than some of the others and is very eroded (Figure 106). Altar 7 is round and badly damaged, has a niche in front, but filled this time with only a head, the features almost obliterated (Figure 107). There are other human figures and owls' heads and undefinable elements on it, but all much worn (Drucker, 1952:182-184).

At San Lorenzo, Monument 14 is a table-top altar with a personage emerging from a niche similar to Altar 4 of La Venta, but too badly worn to make out the details. Monument 2 of Potrero Nuevo, nearby, is in very good condition and the only stone work with Atlantean figures, two Olmec dwarf types (Stirling, 1955:21 and Figure 405).

There are five stelae at La Venta and two of these are most unusual, two are without designs and one seems early. Stela 1 is the latter, a hollowed-out rectangle, with a figure, maybe female, standing inside of it (Figures 108 & 109).

Stela 2 is one of the most impressive sculptures at La Venta and is quite different from the others there. The central figure is the largest, wears layers of capes (Figure 110) and a tall headdress like a fantastic fireman's hat (Figure 111), earplugs and a beard (Figure 112) and other clothing that looks like pants and shoes (Figure 113). He is surrounded by six warrior types or

masked dancers in a circle from top to bottom, with fancy hats and ferocious masks (Figures 114-119), wearing loincloths, jewelry, small capes and round scalloped objects that may be also capes or shields (Figures 120-123). Two look like Civil War soldiers firing muskets. I believe that they were meant to be on the same level, making a circle around the leader; also they may not be fighting, but dancing. The face of the leader is modified Olmec, but the masks of the others are unique to this piece. This stela may be more recent than the other sculptures and seems to me to be at least influenced by if not made by people who were not Olmec--possibly those of Central Veracruz (see Figure 408).

Stela 3 is more damaged than Stela 2 but still shows much of its original relief. There are conflicting drawings of this (Covarrubias, 1957; Drucker, 1952; Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959), as it was stuck in the ground at an odd angle until the 1955 expedition when it was completely dug out and set up straight and photographed. This made a radical alteration in the impression of the central figure for one, who had always seemed to have an inordinately long, fleshy nose, which is now seen to be a short hooked nose, with a nose bead affixed to its end (Figure 124). There was less of a change in the other central figure which had more damage and less detail to begin with. These two are surrounded by more or less complete reliefs of six men, who seem to be flying. Again I believe that this is the result of a difficulty with perspective, and these men are meant to be lined up behind their leaders, each side confronting the other, perhaps in battle, a dance or a ballgame. The central figure at the left is wearing what appears to be buckle shoes (Figure 125), but his adversary's feet are bare (Figure 126). This man wears a nose bead and so does the man at the top (Figure 127). All wear false beards attached to chin straps. The man at the top wears a draped turban (Figure 128). His leader wears a complex headdress that looks like an overdecorated fish (Figure 129). The other chief wears a skyscraper hat, that looks like a little man entangled in plumbing (Figure 130). His clothing seems to be a kilt and double cape and he wears much body jewelry (Figure 131). All that is left of his opponent's costume is a breast ornament that is either a plaque or trophy head, complete with nose-bead and earplug (Figure 132). The only other complete figure, the horizontal man at the top, wears a diaper-like breechclout (Figure 133). One other person is much worn except for his head, which has in front of it a jaguar mask of a kind (Figure 134). One other feature that became noticeable when the stela was set up straight, was the figure of a serpent with rattles or plumes on the tail, which is in back of or on the back of the top figure. It has limb-like elements and the face could also be a stylized jaguar or alligator face (Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959:214-215) (Figure 135).

This stela shows only slight Olmec features in the faces and jaguar mask and seems like Stela 2 to be of a later time, and like that stela to be also influenced by or made by people from Central Veracruz, or some other non-Olmec group.

Other Large Stone Sculptures

In this group are to be found statues in the round, stone coffers and boxes, blocks, slabs or columns, which last are not decorated.

At Tres Zapotes there are only two monuments besides the great stone head that are unquestionably in the Olmec style (Drucker, 1952:205). They are

both statues: Monument M (Figure 136) with arms and legs broken off but a typical Olmec head and helmet, and Monument F with a face much like that of the stone heads (Figure 137), which may be an ornamental tenon, detail of an entrance way, base of a stairway, or utilized as a seat or altar (Stirling, 1943: 22). Considered not to be Olmec (Drucker, 1952:209-210), but with some stylistic relation are Monument C, a stone box having a jaguar (Figure 138), and people with masks, but much decoration in spirals and scrolls; Stela A with two jaguar faces, one at the top (Figure 139) and one at the bottom (Figure 140); Stela D, a relief of human figures with capes and headdresses enclosed by the open mouth of a jaguar (Figure 141); and the famous Stela C, having a series of numbers on one side, which is believed to be a date and a jaguar on the other side, which at the time Drucker (1952) discussed it, was presumed to be pre-Olmec, and which is now considered (Coe, 1957) to be late Olmec. There is much controversy centered around the interpretation of the numbers on Stela C, which will not be discussed in this paper, which is concerned only with art style. As it has been generally believed to be Olmec, I will continue to consider it so. It certainly would not be classed as Classic Olmec, if we may use this term, and as far as this writer is concerned could just as well be early developmental, as late degenerative, so I feel that the style of the art cannot be a contributing factor to the dating of this piece (Figure 142).

At La Venta are the following statues: Monument 5 of which the head is most clear (Figure 143); Monument 8, of which the head is again shown (Figure 144); Monuments, 9, 10 and 11, worn but plainly Olmec; Monument 12, the monkey statue (Figure 145) wearing a necklace (Figure 146) and a belt (Figure 147) that are stylized jaguar muzzles; Monument 20, which looks like a whale (Figure 148); Monument 21, the remains of a cross-legged, seated figure, much eroded; and Monument 23, also seated cross-legged, headless and armless (Figure 149).

Monument 6 of La Venta is a stone sarcophagus with a jaguar mask on the front end (Figure 150), and a design running around the top (Figure 151). Monument 13 is a block or columnar drum with an interesting low relief on one side, which is again in my opinion, hardly in the style of the Olmecs. The face is realistic, thin and angular (Figure 152), the body though short, is not fat, and he has very complex footgear, a characteristic more often found in Maya art (Figure 153). He carries what looks like a banner in one hand and under it are three designs that look like glyphs (Figure 154), and on his other side is a footprint, which is a common motif of Classic and Post-Classic Central Mexican Highland art, as well as Classic Maya (see Figure 407).

There are two broken peices that are presumed to be one sculpture and so-called Monument 15 with the remains of two jaguar masks; the one on the top part is quite abstract (Figure 155) and there is little left of the bottom one --we show a reconstruction (Figure 156). Monument 19 is a slab with a very fine relief of a man sitting with legs outstretched surrounded by a great crested serpent (see Figure 406). Monuments 25, 26 and 27 are very much broken and worn, but seem to have reliefs containing jaguar masks, which is plain only on Monument 25 (Figure 157).

In the San Lorenzo area, there are two statues of seated or crouching cats or mountain lions, very eroded and two very broken statues that are believed to portray a ritual copulation of a jaguar or jaguar priest and a woman. Monuments 11 and 12 are headless, seated figures, one carrying an infant.

Monument 6 is just the head of a very large statue with a worn but Olmec face and an interesting hat (Figure 158). Monument 9 is a broken stone duck or some such bird, hollowed out inside (Figure 159), with three incised designs on the front and one larger one on the back, duplicating two of those on the front, which may possibly be water glyphs (Figure 160). The center design looks like a small bird just coming out of the egg or spreading its wings (Figure 161). Monument 10 is a classic anthropomorphic Olmec jaguar (Figure 162), about 3.5 feet high in good condition, with hands clutching cestus-like objects (Figure 163; see also Figure 57 for the celt of La Venta with this design, used for a mouth, and a figurine in the Bliss Collection, Figure 164, with this motif, and Stela 1 of Cerro de la Piedra, Figure 171). Finally at Potrero Nuevo is a broken stone coiled serpent (Figure 165).

Laguna de los Cerros is about 30 miles east of San Lorenzo and was excavated for a period of six weeks in the spring of 1960. It is surrounded by five other small ceremonial centers altogether containing some 95 mounds. This excavation uncovered 27 stone monuments of which nine have been described and photographed by Alfonso Medellin Zenil (1960).

Monuments 1, 5, 20 and 27 are definitely Olmec and 3 and 11 may be so as well. Monument 8 is a large seated figure almost six feet high, which because of the round head, rectangular ears and probably angular eyes may be an abstract Olmec sculpture. But it is so very abstract, as to look like a piece of modern European art. The excavator does not assign it to any particular period, although he does not give this as the reason.

Monument 19 is a realistic and perfectly representational statue of a man, life size, wearing a loin cloth and a long cape, reaching to the ground, fastened at the neck and thrown over the shoulders and decorated with serpent heads. (The excavator believes this to be Olmec, but I cannot agree. Medellin Zenil's criterion for Olmec may be based on the historical scheme of Jiminez-Moreno, but I am following a criterion based solely on use of art elements.) The head, forearms and lower legs have been broken off. This phenomenon is to be observed in all the human representations at this site. This is hardly likely to be a coincidence.

Monument 26 is a long column stretched on the ground, with some unidentifiable relief sculpture on the side.

Of the Olmec works, Monument 3 and 11 are so badly damaged that they cannot be surely placed within the art style. They are both seated human figures; Monument 3 is only a torso and the other has arms but no hands. Both are naked except for what seems to be a loin cloth. This lack of ornamentation and a general stockiness of body build is all that we can link to Olmec art.

Monument 1 is an anthropomorphic jaguar head. It has a large stylized rectangular mouth with fangs, a thick, wide nose, squarish eyes, and a square-shaped face, surrounded by stylized undulations, that seem to be curly hair. One eye has a low-relief X in it and the other has some other design, too worn to be identified. Between the eyes is bunched-up flesh, as in a frown (Figure 166). It is 0.75 meters high, 0.70 meters wide and 0.70 meters deep and made of andesite. It seems to have a deep circular depression on the top of its head, which may have served as a depository for liquids; water or blood in religious rites.

Monument 5 is a table-top altar type of sculpture resembling those of La Venta and San Lorenzo, with a niche in front, from which emerges a human figure. This is also badly mutilated, only a faceless head, upper torso and part of the right arm and leg remaining.

Monument 20, although quite indistinct from erosion is a jaguar seated astride another person, very much like Monument 1 of San Lorenzo and Monument 3 of Potrero Nuevo. Medellin Zenil (ibid.:95) notes Stirling's belief that these are representations of copulation between a jaguar and a woman, and disagrees with this interpretation, favoring rather that of a conqueror subduing and humiliating his victim, after a recurrent theme in Maya art.

Monument 27 is a piece of andesite decorated with a carved Olmec face, somewhat eroded (Figure 167).

Medellin Zenil also reports five other monuments that may be Olmec (ibid.), three of them found near San Lorenzo, one near Alvarado and the last very far from the Olmec area, closer to the Tajín region.

This last is a stela found in Viejón, north of the city of Veracruz. It is a large block, almost 12 feet tall by 5 feet wide of grey andesite. The top is quite damaged, but two human beings can be seen in low relief, one with head missing and the other with face missing (Figure 168). Medellin (ibid.:80) believes this to resemble a rock carving of Chalcatzingo (discussed below), possibly because of the clothing and the spear or spearthrower one of them carries. I think it resembles more Stela 3 of La Venta, which also contains two men in the same position. I have already stated my doubts as to this stela being Classic Olmec, believing it to be rather of the Central Veracruz style. This stela of Viejón may indicate the source of Stela 3 of La Venta.

Monument 1 of Estero Rabón was discovered by Medellin when he was directing the removal and transport of the monuments of San Lorenzo, nearby, to the Museum of Xalapa, Veracruz. This is the purest Olmec piece noted in Medellin's report. It is a head of a jaguar, with angular slits for eyes, topped with the familiar low-crowned close-fitting helmet (Figure 169), about a foot and a half high and broken off a complete (probably) statue, which has not been found.

At San Lorenzo was also found a circular stone, very eroded, about 5.5 to 6 feet in diameter (it is not a perfect circle), the carving of which cannot be surely identified. There seems to be fragments of bird's wings, sun rays and footprints.

At Medias Aguas not far from Estero Rabón was found a sandstone head, almost three feet high which seems to be a sort of skull mask with a nose and fangs of the jaguar (Figure 170). It has holes in the eyes and one on the upper lip, which may have had insets in them, also two holes on each side, through which cords were probably strung.

Near Alvarado is a site called Cerro de la Piedra, from which a stela was transported by Medellin to the Museum of Xalapa. This had been deliberately smashed into four parts, one of which is lost--fortunately, the piece with the least amount of carving. This is a full-length figure of a man in profile in perhaps a late Olmec style or Central Veracruz, as he seems to be clearly a ball-player (Figure 171).

There are two other large sculptures on the margins of Olmec territory, that should be mentioned: one is a basalt stela from Alvarado (Figure 403),

and the other a stone statue on the volcano of San Martín Pajapán, in the Tuxtla mountains, with two faces--the lower a human (Figure 172) and the upper a jaguar (Figure 173).

Outside the Olmec area there are a few big pieces, of which the most surprising are rock-carvings, some quite far away. At San Isidro Piedra Parada, Guatemala is a carving of a jaguar masked man (Figure 174) with a complicated headdress (Figure 175). At Chalchuapa, El Salvador, there are two Olmec rock-carvings; one a "baby-face" (Figure 176) wearing capes and a round breast ornament (Figure 177), the other also "baby-face" but very haughty looking (Figure 178) wearing also a breast ornament and à loincloth (Figure 179). These are extremely far from the Olmec area, and separated from it by a great distance. Some feel that this is an example of diffusion of Olmec culture, but the absence of Olmec art as yet, in the hundreds of miles intervening, makes this still quite problematical.

In the Central Mexican plateau, there is a very lively scene carved on a rock at Chalcatzingo, Morelos. Three masked men with ornate hats (Figures 180-182) are brandishing spears or spear-throwers and dancing around a naked man who is seated on the ground with his jaguar mask and headdress pushed around to the back (Figure 183) and seems to be dead (see Figure 402). This group is undoubtedly Olmec, although depiction of genitalia is practically unheard of in that art, and this is besides pictured on the outside of the man's leg. This man may be undergoing preparation for sacrifice or may already be sacrificed. Since they all have similar costumes, it does not seem likely that they are enemies. There is no other scene of this kind in any Mesoamerican art, and its real meaning will probably remain a mystery until more comprehensive data are at hand.

All the monuments of La Venta have been removed and transported to Villahermosa, the capital of Tabasco and are now exhibited in a special place called La Venta park. The same has happened evidently to the San Lorenzo monuments (Medellin Zenil, 1960).

Olmec Art of the Valley of Mexico

One of the most confusing aspects of the welter of confusion of the whole Olmec problem is the presence of a special regional version of the art style in the Valley of Mexico at the related Pre-Classic sites of Tlatilco, Copilco and Gualupita.

This version consists of ceramic figurines of the "baby-face" type, but more mongoloid looking than the La Venta types, which tend to look negroid (Figures 184-186). Bodies are also short and plump with simplified arms and legs, sometimes no details of fingers or toes, and look like infants (Figures 187-189). They occur most often in grave offerings along with other figurines and artifacts and in such profusion that Tlatilco, for sure and probably also the others have been considered to be Olmec outposts of a sort (Drucker, 1952: 231-233), or perhaps Olmec trading posts (Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959: 270, 271).

I feel that I must disagree with these assumptions on the following grounds:

1. There is no conclusive evidence that the Mexican "baby-faces" have turned up anywhere but the Central plateau. I am aware of a photograph of two fragmen-

tary Tlatilco-type hollow clay figurines that accompanies a report of T. A. Joyce (1931), of "statues" and a carved slab found by H. A. Knox while hunting in the state of "Veracruz," along the "Tonale" river. Since the other two photographs are different views of Stela 1, and there is a sketch of a part of what is undoubtedly Altar 4, Mr. Knox was obviously at La Venta, in the state of Tabasco, which is on the Tonalá River.

The report consists of one short paragraph, in which the figurine fragments are not described, or even mentioned, unless they be the ubiquitous "statues" referred to. There is nothing in the photograph that identifies them to La Venta or any place else. There have been no further reports on these fragments, nor have any others of this type been reported subsequently. Therefore I do not consider this picture as a refutation of my contention without more evidence.

2. I have never seen any representation of the La Venta type figurine that can be identified as having been found in the Valley of Mexico, except for the clay figurine of Atlihuayan, Morelos (Figure 413) which was out of archaeological context, and may be a stray trade piece or heirloom, and the rock-carving of Chalcatzingo, Morelos (Figure 402), the age of which is unknown.

3. Ceramic figurines of Middle Tres Zapotes and La Venta do not resemble those of the Valley of Mexico.

4. Jade and other small stone figurines in the Valley of Mexico do not resemble those of the La Venta type.

5. While La Venta figurines look like jaguars, dwarfs, little men, often deformed, the Mexican highland statuettes look like actual babies or small children and may represent just that.

6. Representations of humans or anthropomorphic jaguars of La Venta are usually standing. Those seated are almost always cross-legged and often with babies in their arms. The Mexican figurines are always sitting with legs apart and arms outstretched, again just like babies.

7. There is some painting of Mexican figurines and none that we know of on those of La Venta.

8. Head deformation is prominent on La Venta type figurines and rare on those of highland Mexico.

On the other hand, there are important similarities that cannot be ignored:

1. The trapezoid mouths with drill pits at the corners, and few or no teeth.

2. The eyes, almond-shaped or slits, also often with drilled pits.

3. The round, ovoid or square heads and little or no neck.

4. Short stocky bodies, nude, but with sexual characteristics never shown, as far as we know.

However I cannot see a case for trading between the two areas, as no representative of one group appears definitely in the area of the other. That Tlatilco and its environs may have been some sort of regional outpost of regional Olmec worshippers is weak, but possible.

There are various representations of hands that I have included in the section devoted to decorative elements. I have done so because of a similarity

of carved hands in La Venta and San Lorenzo. This inclusion is tentative, however, unless more confirmation can be found.

It is quite possible that the figurines do indicate diffusion of art style, but I believe that the Mexican figurines are representations of actual babies or small children, deposited in the graves as substitutes for sacrifices, perhaps. In many places in Mesoamerica, it was the custom to sacrifice babies and small children. It is also my opinion that the resemblances of the figurines may very well be an example of parallelism.

Miscellaneous Recurring Motifs

Up to now we have been discussing parts of, or entire pieces. This section will deal with motifs and elements and will be in two parts: the components used in depicting the figures, such as muzzles, ears and ear ornaments, head shapes, etc.; and decorative elements common to the style, such as rectilinear, curvilinear, possible glyphs, etc.

Elements of the Faces and Figures

We begin with the jaguar muzzle motif which is one of the main diagnostic elements of Olmec and basis for much of the rest. There are two varieties, one of which is the front view (Figures 190-198), and profile views which are somewhat different (Figures 199-204).

The jaguar eyes and eyebrows are also the basic design for many of the others, except for the plumed or crenelated eyebrows, which are usually restricted to jaguars or jaguar-men (Figures 205-213).

Head shape remains conventional throughout: various degrees of rounded squares or piriform, with head notches in many instances, especially in the jaguar figures (Figures 214-231 and see Figures 30-34). Notable here are many examples of head deformation, in forms peculiar to this group.

Along with the jaguar muzzle, the nose and mouth of the "baby-face" human is one prominent feature of Olmec. In virtually every case, the corners of the mouth are deep pits or at least indented, and very many are open-mouthed, some with toothless gums showing (Figures 232-240).

The "baby-face" eyes and eyebrows are less influenced by the jaguar. There are also differences between the ceramic figurines and the stone ones. In the ceramics, large numbers have pits, in the iris, or in the corners of the eyes, and a smaller number indicate eyes by simple slits (Figures 241-246). In the stone figurines the eyes are either much more stylized--rectangular, curving corners or ellipses--or they are quite realistic (Figures 247-255).

Ears and ear ornaments are also very characteristic. Ears tend to be elongated and somewhat angular to quite stylized (Figures 256-269).

There is one more group of noses and mouths that is important, although it occurs far less in Olmec than jaguar and "baby-face" varieties. These are more realistic types, but very characteristic in some of the large sculptures. They are of two main types: the negroid version, which is very marked in the monumental stone heads (Figures 270-272), and the short hooked nose with a bead affixed to its tip, found on some of the La Venta stelae and other sculptures, which I have said already, may not actually be Olmec but later (Figures 273-275).

Limbs are always typical; short, plump and simplified in every case. Hand or paws have little or no digital detail (Figures 276-284). Feet are the same and almost always without footgear (Figures 285-293).

Beards were once believed diagnostic of Olmec, but are not considered so now, as they recur in later horizons (Drucker, 1952:196). In almost every case they appear to be false and attached to chin straps of the headgear or the jaguar mask (Figures 294-302).

Clothing when present is generally simple; a loincloth or kilt, with the addition in some of the larger sculptures of capes. The jewelry worn on the body is equally simple, consisting of arm and ankle bracelets, bead necklaces sometimes with a pendant, which in most cases is a rounded square, which I believe represents a concave mirror. This mirror is sometimes just a breast ornament, attached to other parts of clothing, or as in the case of Jade figurine 1 of La Venta (Figure 303), seems to be attached to the bare chest (Figures 303-311).

One of the most interesting features of the art style is the depiction of hair and headdresses, ranging from small helmets, simple turbans and straight hair to very complicated headdresses (Figures 312-320).

Decorative Elements

Olmec art utilizes consistently certain decorative elements, a trait it shares with other styles of art. There are a number of different groups, realistic to abstract and usually stylized. Among them are carved abstract jaguar faces, other animals and birds, hands, abstract tattoos, possible glyphs and both angular and curvilinear abstractions.

There are rounded squares, probably chest ornaments or pendants as mentioned above. An L-shaped element is often used, that looks like fangs or a forked tongue. Also popular is a serrated border or row of small triangles. The wide flaring U-motif often appears upside down, suggesting a jaguar's muzzle. Feather ornaments are rare, and simple when shown. A notched rectangle or truncated V is common. One element is a cause for speculation. It is an X which may be two crossed sticks, bands of cloth or rope (Drucker, 1952:197-200; Covarrubias, 1942). This may be borrowed from the Maya, as it is often used by them decoratively, and is an important glyphic element. Since publication of the above cited two works, more of the X-shaped elements have been discovered, both at La Venta in the 1955 excavations, and San Lorenzo, where it is made from two pieces of rope criss-crossed.

Some of the illustrations used are from sculptures, large and small, and some from potsherds of La Venta and Tres Zapotes. Some of the differences of the same elements in different examples may reflect the differences in the material used.

Now and then used as decoration are representations of different animals than the jaguar on pottery, jewelry and some of the sculptures (Figures 321-329).

Hands used as decorative elements are not at all simple, but generally more fanciful (Figures 330-338). They occur on some damaged stone monuments (Figure 335), pottery from Tlatilco (Figure 330-332 and 337, 338), the clay figurine of Atlihuayán (Figure 333), and a stone ax (Figure 334), and Altar 1 of La Venta (Figure 335). Figure 334 may be a glyph. Those from Tlatilco, as

previously stated, may not be really Olmec, but restricted to the Mexican plateau.

Decorations that can be interpreted as glyphs are rare, as far as we know now, in Olmec art. There seems to me to be one which has a few variations and generally appears as a separate design on celts, stelae, jewelry, etc. It may be a rosette and streamers, a ball and ribbons, comet, eye and fangs, or eye and feathers (Figures 339-341, 343). Two of three elements on Monument 13 of La Venta (Figure 342) along with the third, which is a bird's head (Figure 323) may be glyphs, as might the footprint on the other side of the human figure (see Figure 407). The figure that appears on the headless duck of San Lorenzo, three times, may be a water glyph (Stirling, 1955) (Figure 344).

The abstract or stylized jaguar face was used quite often as an accessory design on figurines, celts and axes. Sometimes used on a side as if it were a glyph (Figure 347), but more often it was a design tattooed on the face or body (Figures 346, 348-351, 353). There is one which is a petroglyph on a rock outside of Tres Zapotes (Figure 345), and the famous jaguar mosaic masks of La Venta (Figure 59) would be an example of this. I include here a decorated stone celt of La Venta that may just be an abstract design, but that I believe is a jaguar abstraction (Figure 352).

Although the X design cannot be regarded exclusively as an Olmec trait, it occurs often and in important places. The common use of this element in Maya art has been mentioned and it is a glyphic element in the "sky" glyphs, and in some of the day and month glyphs of the Maya. In Olmec it seems to be principally a decorative element, but since more are found as the excavations progress, we feel that it is important to mention it here (Figures 354-368). The element may have a significance that may even predate both Mayan and Olmec cultures.

As tattoos, there are also abstract designs as well as jaguars, both on bodies and faces--one may be jewelry however (Figure 369). The designs are quite varied (Figures 369-377).

The last group is a catchall of angular and curvilinear abstract decorative elements, among them the L-shapes, U-shapes, eye shapes, triangles, rectangles, heart shapes, etc. The examples used are from all of the types of art--pottery, clay and stone figurines and large stone sculptures (Figures 378-395).

Olmec Art at Cerro de las Mesas

Cerro de las Mesas, an archaeological site in Veracruz about 50 miles from Tres Zapotes and about 100 from La Venta as the crow flies, was believed to be an Olmec site because of the presence of some Olmec pieces and Olmec influenced art and some use of jaguar masks. Investigation showed, however, that there was little there that was Olmec. The mass of evidence indicates that it was not used as an Olmec site and had little contact with them during contemporary periods. It is assumed now that Olmec pieces from this place must be heirlooms or keepsakes (Drucker, 1955:66), (Figures 396-401), and that it is a later, different culture, perhaps an outpost of Central Mexico.

Concluding Remarks

I have tried to show in detail the main elements of Olmec art and those less critical to the style as well. The examination was made in the attempt to unravel some of the mysteries created by these art works, which I am afraid seem to be supplemented by some new problems.

The clay figurines of Middle Tres Zapotes and La Venta, are almost impossible to tell apart, and both sites have stone heads and statues, but there are virtually no small stone figurines in Middle Tres Zapotes, nor stone mosaic pavements or jaguar masks. Upper Tres Zapotes is no longer Olmec (Drucker, 1952), but only Olmec-influenced. So even though it is possible that the people that were Olmecs began at Tres Zapotes in the lower period, from some possible earlier jaguar motifs there, and continued through most of the middle period, in which was probably founded La Venta, we cannot say that Tres Zapotes was abandoned, as it continued to be occupied and produce art, especially pottery, for a long time, although we do not know whether the people were descendents of the Olmecs or different people.

Kubler (1962:69) notes that the jade figurines are stereotyped and show a "general La Venta style of jade working." He gathers from this that the clay and jade traditions of figurine manufacture were mutually dependent and the relationship between their makers "must have been one of reciprocal exchanges." After the clay figurines "the sculptors and lapidaries acquired the technique for translating the postures and expressions of clay figurines into stone and jade. These new forms of monumental or jewel-like character then affected the work of the artisans in clay, who cannot have avoided making diminutive replicas of the colossal heads and jade statuettes." I think this is an interesting idea, although I believe the similarities to be exaggerated.

The only traces of Mexican highland art are in Upper Tres Zapotes and possibly post-Phase IV at La Venta, and these may have come from Cerro de las Mesas, which seems to have been a Mexican highland outpost and does have quite a few Olmec trade objects.

It must be noted here that there do not seem to be as yet figurines from the San Lorenzo sites. This may be due to the fact that there has been little excavation there, so far. It is regarded as a subordinate area to La Venta (Stirling, 1955:22) or as a successor ritual center to it (Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959:260).

We have illustrated many motifs that occur in Olmec art--but not many are actually diagnostic. The main one is the jaguar's muzzle or the everted, thick-lipped human mouth derived from it, and the presence of this feature in an art object has always been sufficient to identify it immediately as Olmec. This is the reason the famous Danzante figures at Monte Alban have often been called Olmec. But their only similarity is in the mouth, which is only roughly similar. There are no pits or indentations anywhere, the head is the wrong shape and not deformed. The body is long and slender, with stylized genitalia, actively in movement; altogether un-Olmec in every way.

Eyes in Olmec are not so clear as to being specific, except when stylized into rectangles or angles, or featuring drilled pits in the corners and/or center, or almond shaped and sharply diagonal with large irises. However plumed or crenelated eyebrows can be regarded as clearly Olmec.

Next in importance as a critical feature is the head shape. This,either round, oval, squarish or pear-shaped, with head deformation very prominent and of a unique form, either elongated or gradually diminishing straight up, or with a bulbular effect at the top, in contrast to Mayan head deformation, for instance, which produced a steeply sloping to the back form. Head notches, sometimes filled in with an ornament or feather are also a sure indication of the style.

The characteristic body form is also very important: short, stocky, plump, infantile or dwarfish, with hands, feet or paws just suggested, naked but no genitals shown, or simply clothed. Postures are limited to standing up straight and looking straight ahead or up, or sitting cross-legged, often in niches and often with babies in their arms. It is easy to believe from the many depictions of the latter theme, that they were sacrificing babies, but it may also signify an initiation ceremony or illustration of some sort of origin myth, as they always seem to be emerging from a large cavity, sometimes the mouth of a jaguar, who may be an earth god here. There are many cases of myths of this sort among various groups of Indians of America.

There are few jaguars that are not anthropomorphic, even the most highly stylized. Perhaps these people wore jaguar masks and considered themselves descended from a jaguar and a human woman--I have mentioned two worn monuments on this theme, Monument 1 of San Lorenzo and Monument 3 of Potrero Nuevo, to which must be added Monument 20 of Laguna de los Cerros. Or they may have believed that their priests had the power to turn into jaguars (like the were-wolves of Central Europe). This latter theory may have been believed by their neighbors, who may have suspected them of sneaking into their villages and stealing their children for sacrifice. (Coe calls the figurines, "were-jaguars" in his 1962 ms.)

The short-hooked-nose-with-beard-persons do not look at all Olmec and may be portraits of other neighboring or later peoples. Monument 19, La Venta, although he wears a nose bead looks Olmec, but his jaguar mask may be a serpent mask; the great serpent around him has a crest, which may be plumes; the bag he carries and the one over his head (probably medicine bags) are not duplicated in other Olmec works, but I have seen this theme on art objects from Teotihuacán. Stela 3, La Venta has a snake also, whose tail may be plumed, and there are remnants of another just like it, below, in a worn spot. Both seem to be carried on the back of a man and it has occurred to me that these may be representing something like the Eagle, Serpent and Jaguar knights of the Aztecs.

I have noted four pieces with a cestus-like object in the hand. I have become convinced that this is part of ballgame apparatus--the figurine in the Bliss Collection has a sort of bat in the other hand and the figure on Stela 1 of Cerro de la Piedra seems also to be carrying a bat and is wearing knee pads (not shown in my drawing) (Figures 57, 163, 164, 171).

We have here the evidence of a Classic culture with a fully developed art style, a pyramid and platform mounds and sculpture that required a great deal of time and labor and that persisted for four hundred years. We know that such a culture complex must have been supported economically and spiritually by a large population, and as in other places with so much emphasis on religious ceremony, the community was very likely ruled by a theocracy.

However, the evidence shows only a small amount of living sites on La Venta, and little if any in the immediate area, although there must have been

enormous numbers of people involved in erecting and maintaining the ceremonial center (the phases I-IV, aforementioned are of complete rebuilding four times in the four hundred years of occupation), while still others spent much time hunting down and transporting from the Tuxtla mountains, about 80 miles away, the great basalt blocks used in the construction of the tomb, the ceremonial center and the larger stone sculptures.

About 400 years after its beginning, La Venta was suddenly abandoned and many of its monuments deliberately vandalized. I have already noted the breaking off of head, arms and legs of sculpture in Laguna de los Cerros and environs. It is impossible to tell if the destruction took place then or at some other time. What is more strange is that more than a thousand years later, that many of the great Classic sites in Mesoamerica were abandoned, some also suffering defacing, and there are indications that this happened to other prehistoric civilizations as well.

We have every reason to believe that after the fall of La Venta, the Olmec state for certain and probably also the religion never became a major one again. If San Lorenzo was indeed the new ritual center, it seems as if it never was as grand as La Venta. Through the millennia the Olmec sites were visited by vandals, treasure seekers, and for religious reasons. There may have up to and throughout the Classic period, temporary small revivals of the jaguar cult, with resulting pilgrimages to deposit offerings at the holy site of La Venta.

Important is the restriction in Olmec art in both style and subject matter, which perhaps indicated a conservatism of a theocratic state that would permit no deviation from the compulsive repetition of the same few themes. Perhaps this conservatism contributed to the downfall of La Venta.

What is even more astonishing is that there is no other kind of deity or object of veneration portrayed, but the jaguar god. Most cultures that we know of in Mesoamerica, from the oldest down to the present day, worship a multiplicity of deities.

Aside from the jaguar god, the most persistent figure depicted seems to be a male human, with Negroid features, wearing a distinctive costume, consisting of: a necklace or crossed straps across the chest to which is attached a circular object, which must be one of the ground and polished metallic stone mirrors, a close-fitting helmet-type hat, with chin straps, earplugs and sometimes a false beard, some sort of loin apron, and sometimes one or more capes. This must be a very important individual, probably a member of the priesthood, a ruler, or at least a shaman. This individual also sometimes has the face of a jaguar. Besides this, the most common figure is the nearly nude human with a deformed head.

The limitation in style and subject matter may possibly aid in identifying this as really pre-Classic or even proto-Classic, as Classic art styles in Mesoamerica are distinguished by their fluidity, variety and expressiveness. Again I exempt the monumental heads--they easily rank with the greatest works of art in man's history.

This may not be a separate culture, with a separate political structure, but a religious cult, celebrated mainly in the Olmec area, and possibly attracting pilgrims from other places, some perhaps quite distant, much as is the case today at the shrine of the Virgin of Guadeloupe in Mexico City.

Very often I have come upon the statement lately, in the works of many authors, that Olmec art is characterized by figures in violent movement. This is quite mistaken, and based, I believe, on the figures on Stela 2 and Stela 3 of La Venta, which are the only ones that are mobile in any work attributed to Olmec art that I have seen. I have already stated that I do not consider these two pieces to be Olmec on stylistic grounds. On the contrary Olmec art is characterized by lack of movement, and I repeat figures either stand straight and look straight ahead or are sitting cross-legged.

Also I must register my disagreement with many that Olmec is the "cultura madre" of Mesoamerica. However, it is very possible that it is the mother culture of the central Veracruz Classic area, which perhaps also received influences from the Maya and central Mexican highland.

Despite the great interest in and enthusiasm for the Olmecs, our evidences of them, their art, customs and society are very meager. It is to be hoped that in the near future some of this interest and enthusiasm will be translated into action, not just to learn more about the Olmecs, but to help clear up the picture of the earlier cultures of the entire area of Mesoamerica.

ENDNOTE

1. I am deeply indebted to Professor Robert F. Heizer for patient counsel, kind encouragement and liberal contributions of his time, as well as books, manuscripts and photographs. It was also under his direction that this paper was originally prepared as a research project during the year of 1962. My thanks also to Dr. John A. Graham, who has also read the paper and whose suggestions have been very helpful to me.

   However, I alone am responsible for all the wild-eyed interpretations herein. I must also admit responsibility for the quality and accuracy of the drawings, most of which are freehand and my own.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BLOM, FRANS and OLIVER LA FARGE

1926 Tribes and temples. Tulane Univ. Mid. Amer. Res. Ser. 2 Vols. New Orleans.

CASO, ALFONSO

1942 Definición y extensión del complejo "olmeca." Mayas y Olmecas, pp. 43-46. Sociedad mexicana de antropológicos. Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas.

COE, MICHAEL

1957 Cycle 7 monuments in Middle America. Amer. Anthro. 59:597-611.

1962 Mexico. New York.

1962ms. An archaeological synthesis of Southern Veracruz-Tabasco. Prepared for Handbook of Middle American Indians.

COLLIER, DONALD

1959 Indian art of the Americas. Chicago Nat. Hist. Mus.

COVARRUBIAS, MIGUEL
1942 Origen y desarrollo del estilo artistico "olmeca." Mayas y Olmeças, pp. 46-49. Sociedad mexicana de antropológicos. Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas.

1944 La Venta colossal heads and jaguar gods. Dyn. Rev. Mod. Art, No. 6: 24-33. Mexico.

1954 Mexico South. New York.

1957 Indian art of Mexico and Central America. New York.

DRUCKER, PHILIP
1943 Ceramic sequences at Tres Zapotes, Veracruz, Mexico. Smiths. Inst. Bur. of Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 140. Washington.

1943a Ceramic stratigraphy at Cerro de las Mesas, Veracruz, Mexico. Smiths. Inst. Bur. of Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 141. Washington.

1947 Some implications of the ceramic complex of La Venta. Smiths. Inst. Misc. Col. Vol. 107. Washington.

1952 La Venta, Tabasco: a study of Olmec ceramics and art. Smiths. Inst. Bur. of Amer. Ethno. Bull. 153. Washington.

1955 Cerro de las Mesas offerings of jade and other materials. Smiths. Inst. Bur. of Amer. Ethno. Bull. 157, Anthro. Paper No. 44. Washington.

DRUCKER, PHILIP and EDUARDO CONTRERAS
1953 Site patterns in the eastern part of Olmec territory. Jrnl. of Wash. Acad. of Sci., Vol. 43, No. 12, pp. 289-396. Baltimore.

DRUCKER, PHILIP and ROBERT F. HEIZER
1956 Gifts for the jaguar god. Nat. Geog. Mag. Vol. 110, pp. 366-375. Washington.

DRUCKER, PHILIP, ROBERT F. HEIZER and ROBERT J. SQUIER
1959 Excavations at La Venta Tabasco, 1955. Smiths. Inst. Bur. of Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 170. Washington.

EKHOLM, GORDON F.
1958 Regional sequences in Mesoamerica and their relationships. Midd. Amer. Anthr. Pan Amer. Un. Monogr. V. Washington.

HEIZER, ROBERT F.
1957 Excavations at La Venta, 1955. Bull. Tex. Arch. Soc. Vol. 28:98-110.

1961 Inferences on the nature of Olmec society based upon data from the La Venta site. Kroeb. Anth. Soc. Pap. No. 25, Fall, pp. 43-57.

JOYCE, T. A. and H. A. KNOX
1931 Sculptured figures from Veracruz state, Mexico. Man, Vol. 31, p. 17. London.

KELEMAN, PÁL
1943 Medieval American art. 2 vols. New York.

KUBLER, GEORGE
1962 The art and architecture of ancient America, pp. 64-70. Penguin Books, Baltimore.

KÜHN, HERBERT
1955 On the track of prehistoric man. New York.

1956 The rock pictures of Europe. Fairlawn, N. J.

LOTHROP, S. K., W. F. FOSHAG and JOY MAHLER
1957 Robert Woods Bliss collection Pre-Columbian Art. National Gallery. Washington.

MEDIONI, G. and M.-T. PINTO
1941 Art in ancient Mexico. New York.

MEDELLIN ZENIL, ALFONSO
1960 Monolitos ineditos Olmecas. La palabra y el hombre, no. 16:75-97. Univ. de la Veracruzana. Xalapa.

PETERSON, FREDERICK
1959 Ancient Mexico. New York.

PROSKOURIAKOFF, TATIANA
1958 Studies in Middle American art. Mid. Amer. Anth. Pan Amer. Un. Soc. Sci. Mon. V. Washington.

SAVILLE, MARSHALL H.
1929 Votive axes of ancient Mexico. Indian notes. Mus. of the Amer. Ind. Heye Found., Vol. 6, No. 3, July, pp. 266-300. New York.

1929a Votive axes of ancient Mexico. Ind. Notes. Mus. of the Amer. Ind. Heye Found., Vol. 6, No. 4, Oct., pp. 335-343. New York.

SPINDEN, HERBERT J.
1947 An Olmec jewel. Brooklyn Mus. Quart. Vol. 9, No. 1, Fall.

STIRLING, MATTHEW W.
1939 Discovering the new world's oldest dated work of man. Nat. Geog. Mag. Vol. 76, No. 2:183-218. Washington.

1940 An initial series from Tres Zapotes, Veracruz, Mexico. Nat. Geog. Soc. Contr. Tech. Pap. Mex. Arch. Ser. Vol. 1, No. 1. Washington.

1940a Great stone faces of Mexico. Nat. Geog. Mag. Vol. 78, No. 3:309-334. Washington.

1941 Expedition unearths buried masterpieces. Nat. Geog. Mag. Vol. 80, No. 3:277-302. Washington.

1943 Stone monuments of Southern Mexico. Smiths. Inst. Bur. of Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 138. Washington.

1943a La Venta's green stone tigers. Nat. Geog. Mag. Vol. 84, No. 3, pp. 321-332. Washington.

1955 Stone monuments of the Río Chiquito, Veracruz, Mexico. Smiths. Inst. Bur. of Amer. Ethno. Bull. 157. Anthr. Pap. 43. Washington.

VAILLANT, G. C.
1956 Aztecs of Mexico. Penguin Books, Middlesex.

WEIANT, C. E.
1943 Introduction to the ceramics of Tres Zapotes, Veracruz, Mexico. Smiths. Inst. Bur. of Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 139. Washington.

Yan
1954 Notas Mundiales. P. 129. Mexico.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure

1 Painted red on brown sherd, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Figure 37a, p. 107.)

2 Painted black on brown sherd, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Figure 37f, p. 107.)

3 Painted red on coarse brown ware, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Figure 41a, p. 123.)

4 Incised coarse buff ware sherd, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Figure 25k, p. 85.)

5 Incised coarse buff ware sherd, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Figure 25e, p. 85.)

6 Incised coarse buff ware sherd, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Figure 26e, p. 86.)

7 Incised coarse buff ware sherd, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Figure 27c, p. 87.)

8 Incised coarse buff ware sherd, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Figure 25b, p. 85.)

9 Incised coarse buff ware sherd, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Figure 26c, p. 86.)

10 Incised coarse buff ware sherd, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Figure 26d, p. 86.)

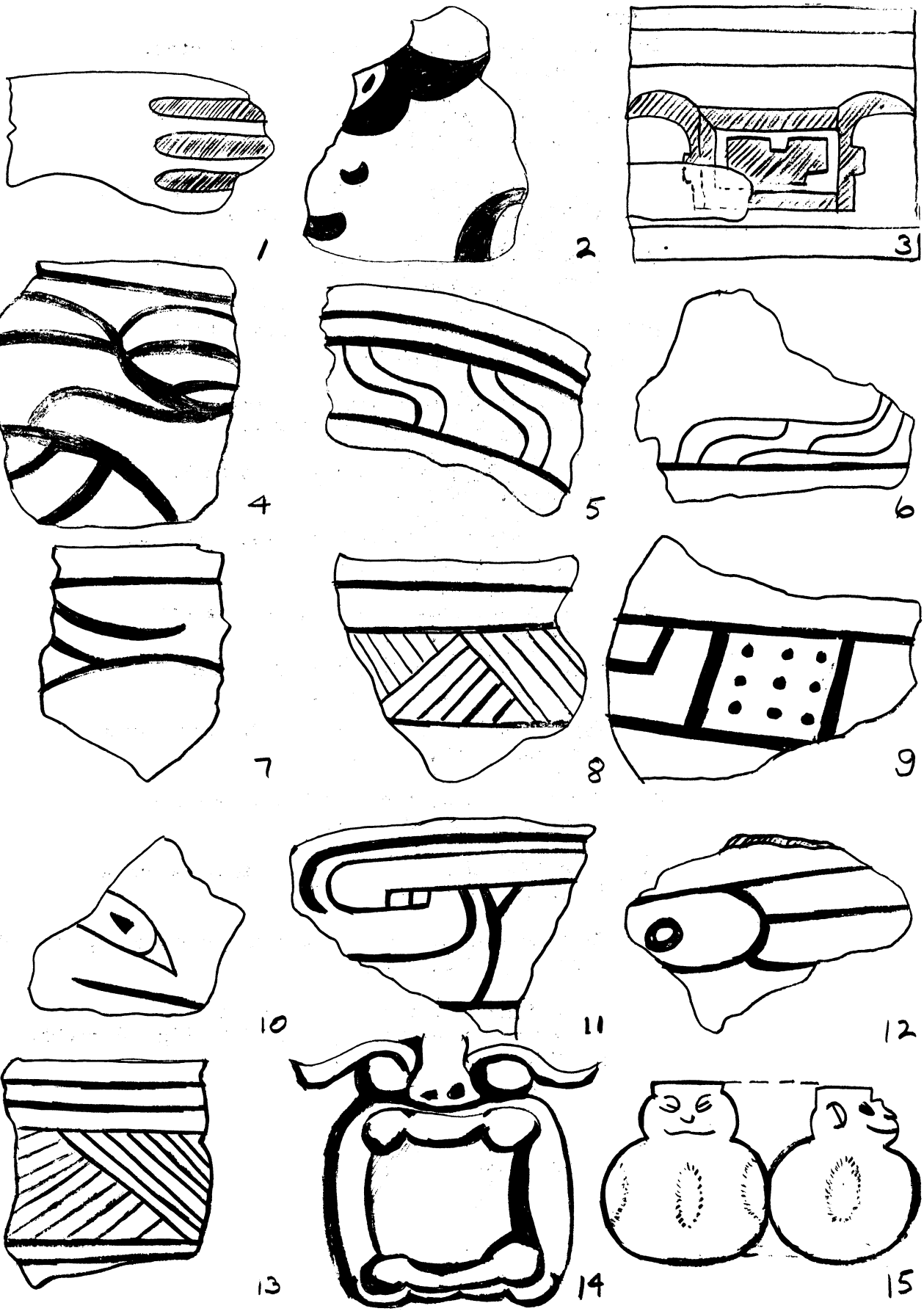
11 Incised coarse buff ware sherd, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Figure 26a, p. 86.)

12 Incised coarse buff ware sherd, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Figure 27b, p. 87.)

13 Incised fine orange paste ware sherd, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Figure 36a, p. 106.)

14 Modeled coarse buff ware sherd, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Figure 29, p. 89.)

15 Pottery vessel, offering #14, La Venta.
(Drucker *et al.*, 1959, Figure 52a & c, p. 188.)


1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15

Figure

16 Type I-A-1 clay figurine, Tres Zapotes.
(Drucker, 1952, Plate 23c.)

17 Type I-A-1 clay figurine, Tres Zapotes.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 23e.)

18 Type I-A-1 clay figurine head, Tres Zapotes.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 23d, right.)

19 Type I-A-3 clay figurine head, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 26b, right.)

20 Type I-B-1/4 clay figurine head, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 29m.)

21 Type I-B-3a/4 clay figurine head, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 26l, right.)

22 Type I-B-3b clay figurine head, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 30e.)

23 Type I-B-4/II clay figurine head, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 29b.)

24 Type II-A-1 clay figurine, Tres Zapotes.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 25a'.)

25 Type II-A-1 clay figurine, Tres Zapotes.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 25c'.)

26 Type II-A-1 clay figurine head, Tres Zapotes.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 25b'.)

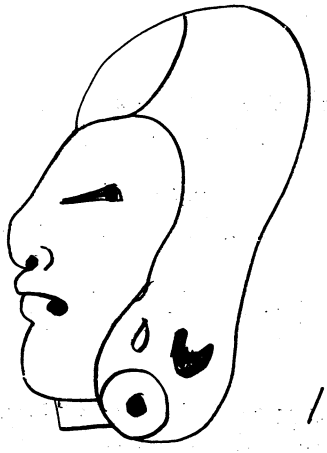
27 Type III-B clay figurine head, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 43a.)

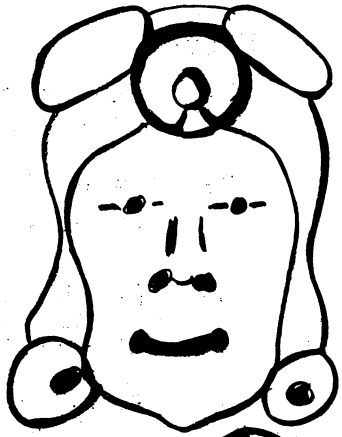
28 Type I-B-4/III clay figurine head, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 29d.)

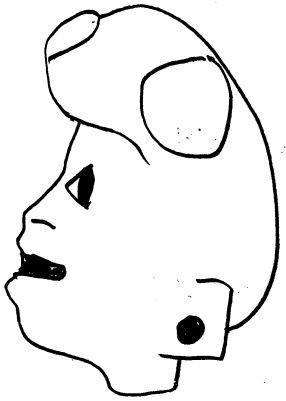
29 Small animal or bird whistle fragment, clay, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 37q.)

30 Serpentine figurine #12, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 64 right,
p. 213.)

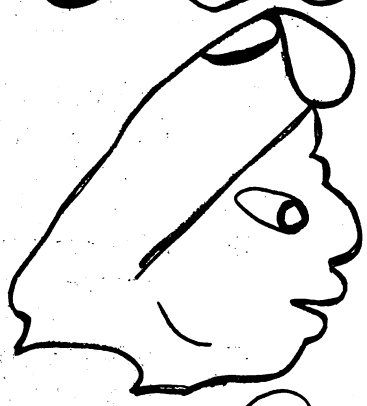

16

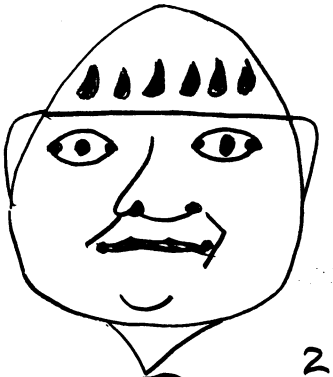

17


18


19


20


21


22


23


24

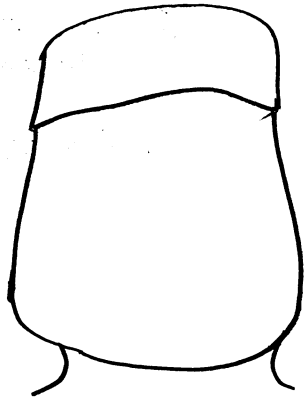

25


26

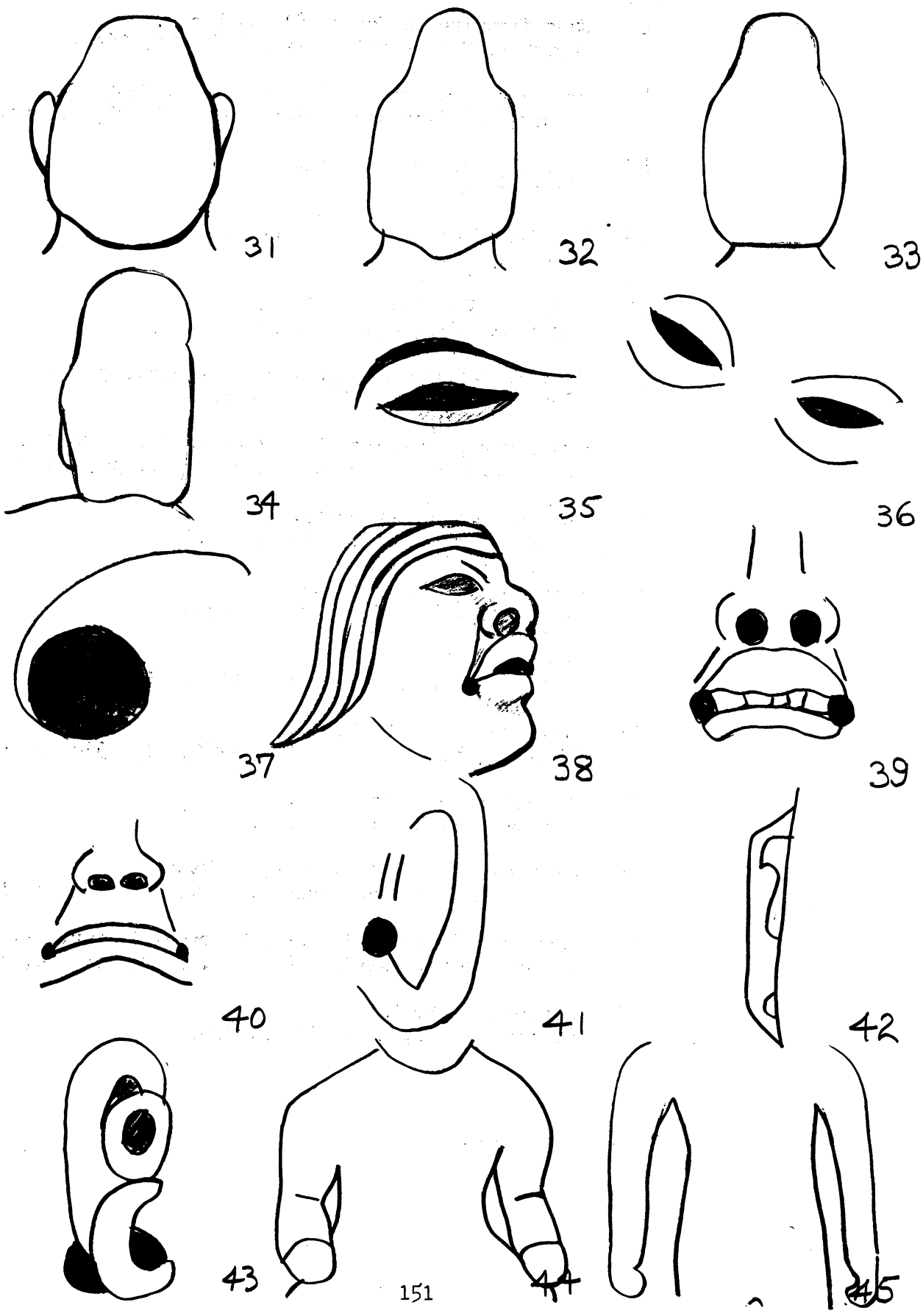

27


28

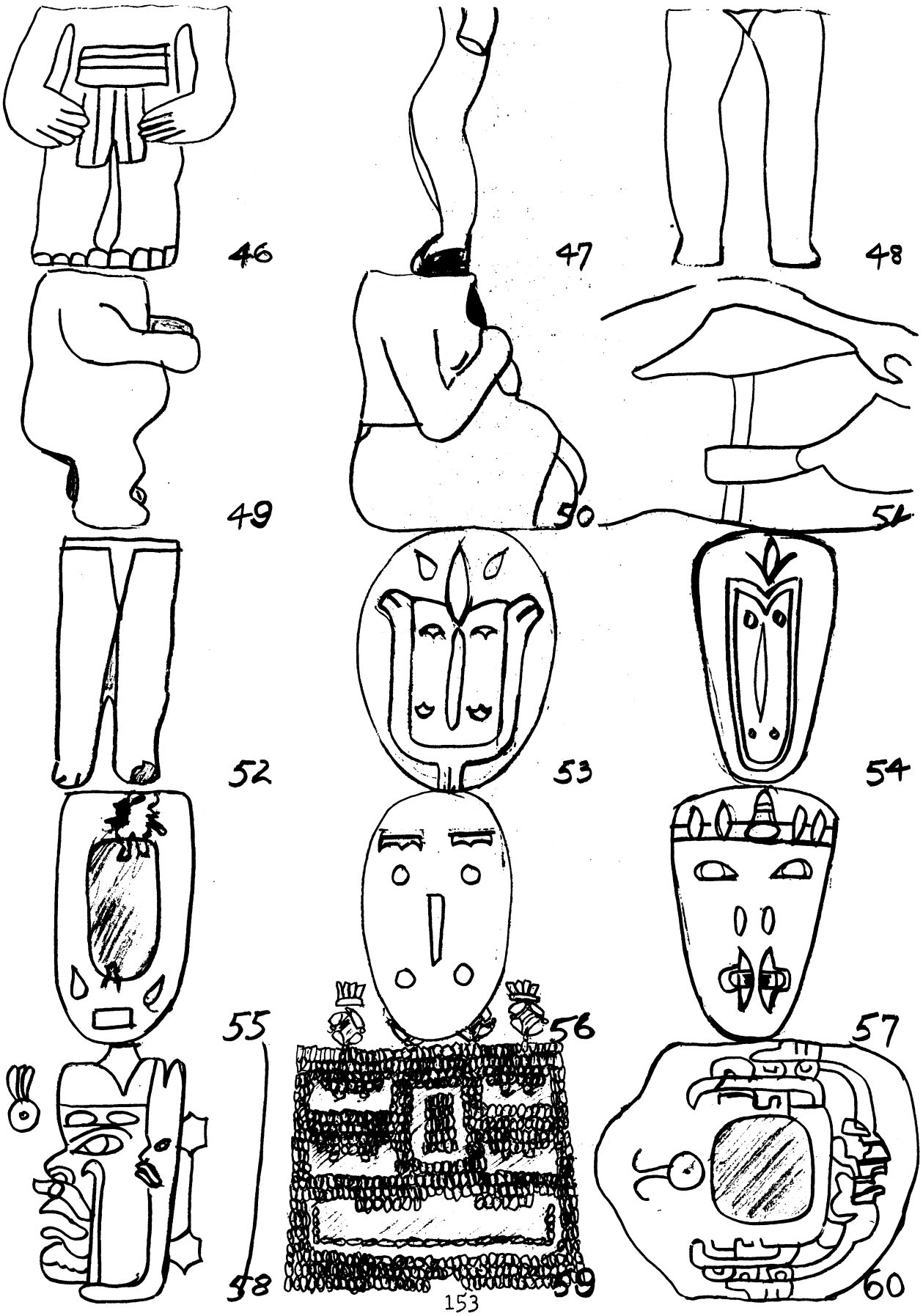

29


30

Figure


31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45

Figure


46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Figure

61 Jade pendants (deer jaws), La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 46a, p. 160.)

62 Plaque #1, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 62, p. 211.)

63 Jade maskette, Offering #5, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 43a, p. 166.)

64 Jade object, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 59a, p. 195 and Pl. 54a.)

65 Incised Jadeite celt.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 34 left, p. 74.)

66 Incised Jadeite Mask.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 35, upper left, p. 80.)

67 Carved Stone Mask.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 35, lower left, p. 80.)

68 Incised Jadeite Mask.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 35, lower right, p. 80.)

69 Greenstone Mask, Tabasco.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 100, upper left, p. 229.)

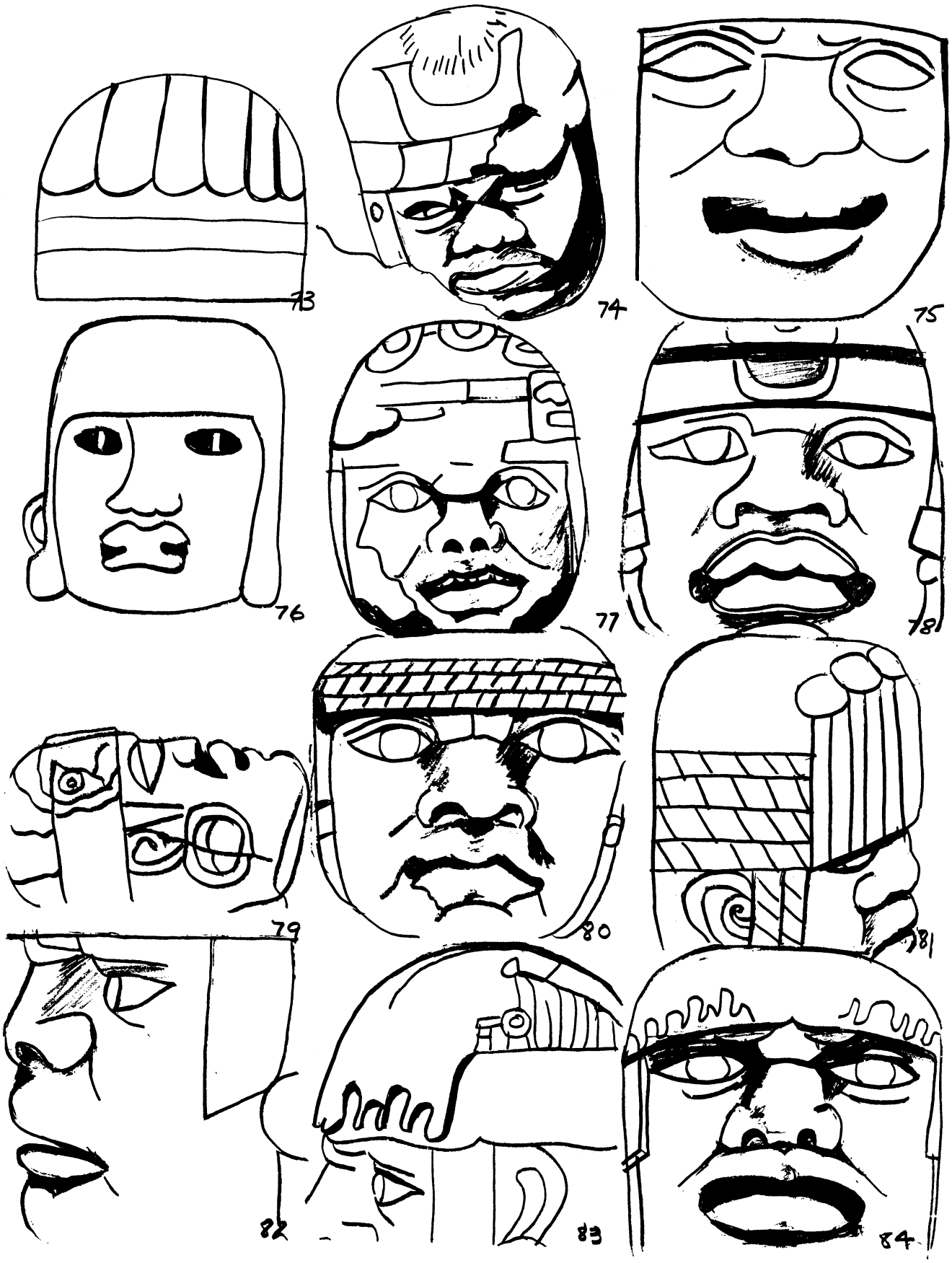
70 Colossal Head, Monument A, Tres Zapotes.
(Stirling, 1943, Pl. 4a.)

71 Colossal Head, Santiago Tuxtla, Veracruz.
(Color slide of R. F. Heizer.)

72 Colossal Head, Santiago Tuxtla, Veracruz.
(Color slide of R. F. Heizer.)


61
62
63
64
65
66
68
69
70
71
72

Figure


73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84

Figure

85 Monument 4, San Lorenzo.
(Stirling, 1955, Pl. 9.)

86 Main figure, Altar 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 51/1, p. 176.)

87 Person #1, Altar 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 51, p. 176.)

88 Person #4, Altar 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 51, p. 176.)

89 Person #4, Altar 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 51, p. 176.)

90 Person #3, Altar 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 51, p. 176.)

91 Person #3, Altar 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 51, p. 176.)

92 Person #2, Altar 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 51, p. 176.)

93 Person #2, Altar 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 51, p. 176.)

94 Person #2, Altar 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 51, p. 176.)

95 Design on ledge, Altar 4, La Venta.
(Stirling, 1943, Pl. 37a.)

96 Decorations on the front, left, Altar 4, La Venta.
(Stirling, 1943, Pl. 37a.)

97 Main figure, Altar 5, La Venta.
(Stirling, 1943, Pl. 40.)

98 Main figure, Altar 5, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 52, p. 177.)

99 Figures 9 and 10, Altar 5, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 52, p. 177.)


85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
97
98
99

Figure

100 Figures 7 and 8, Altar 5, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, 177 and Stirling, 1943, Pl. 41b.)

101 Figures 5 and 6, Altar 5, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, 177 and Stirling, 1943, Pl. 41a.)

102 Figures 3 and 4, Altar 5, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, 177 and Stirling, 1943, Pl. 41a.)

103 Figure 8, Altar 5, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 52, p. 177.)

104 Figure 6, Altar 5, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 52, p. 177.)

105 Figure 3, Altar 5, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 52, p. 177.)

106 Altar 6, La Venta.
(Stirling, 1943, Pl. 38a.)

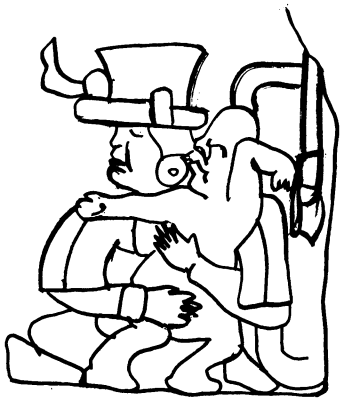
107 Altar 7, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 56, p. 188.)

108 Stela 1, La Venta.
(Stirling, 1943, Pl. 33a.)

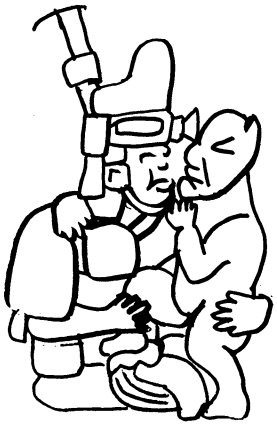
109 Stela 1, La Venta.
(Stirling, 1943, Pl. 33a.)

110 Central figure, Stela 2, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 49, p. 174.)

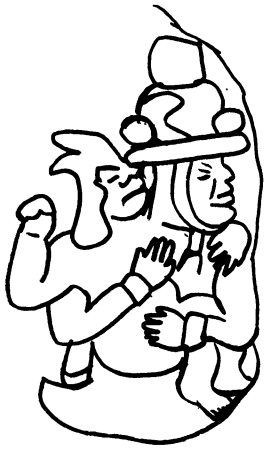
111 Central figure, Stela 2, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 49, p. 174.)



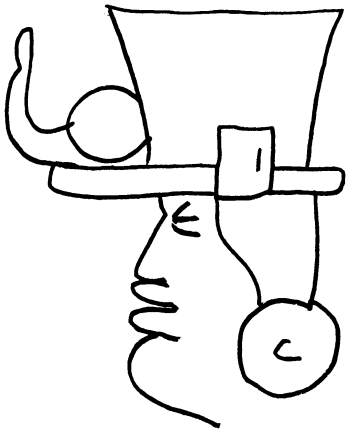
100



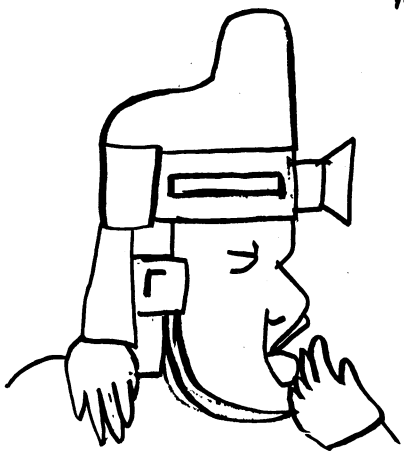
101



102

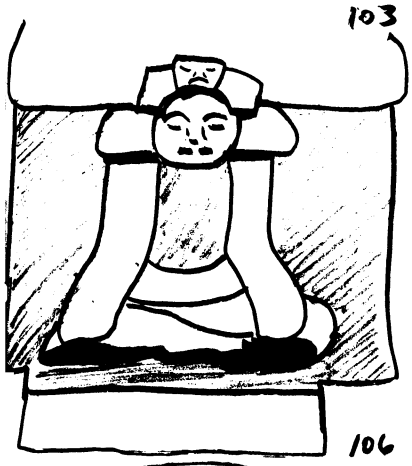


103

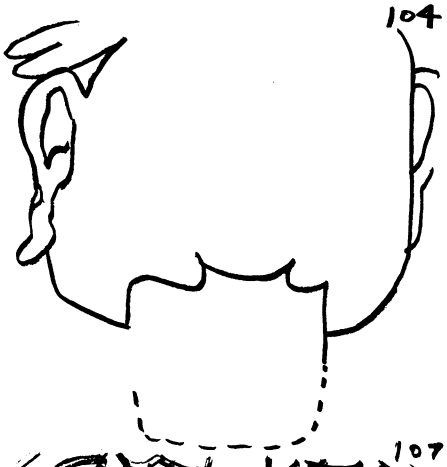


104

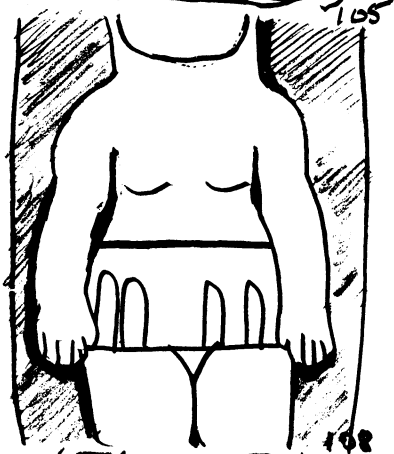
105



106



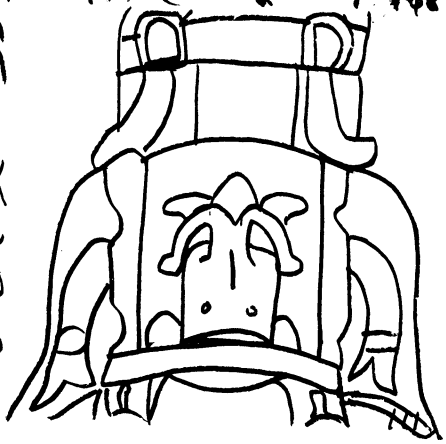
107



108

109

110



Figure

112 Central figure, Stela 2, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 49, p. 174.)

113 Central figure, Stela 2, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 49, p. 174.)

114 Person 2, Stela 2, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 49, p. 174.)

115 Person 3, Stela 2, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 49, p. 174.)

116 Person 4, Stela 2, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 49, p. 174.)

117 Person 5, Stela 2, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 49, p. 174.)

118 Person 6, Stela 2, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 49, p. 174.)

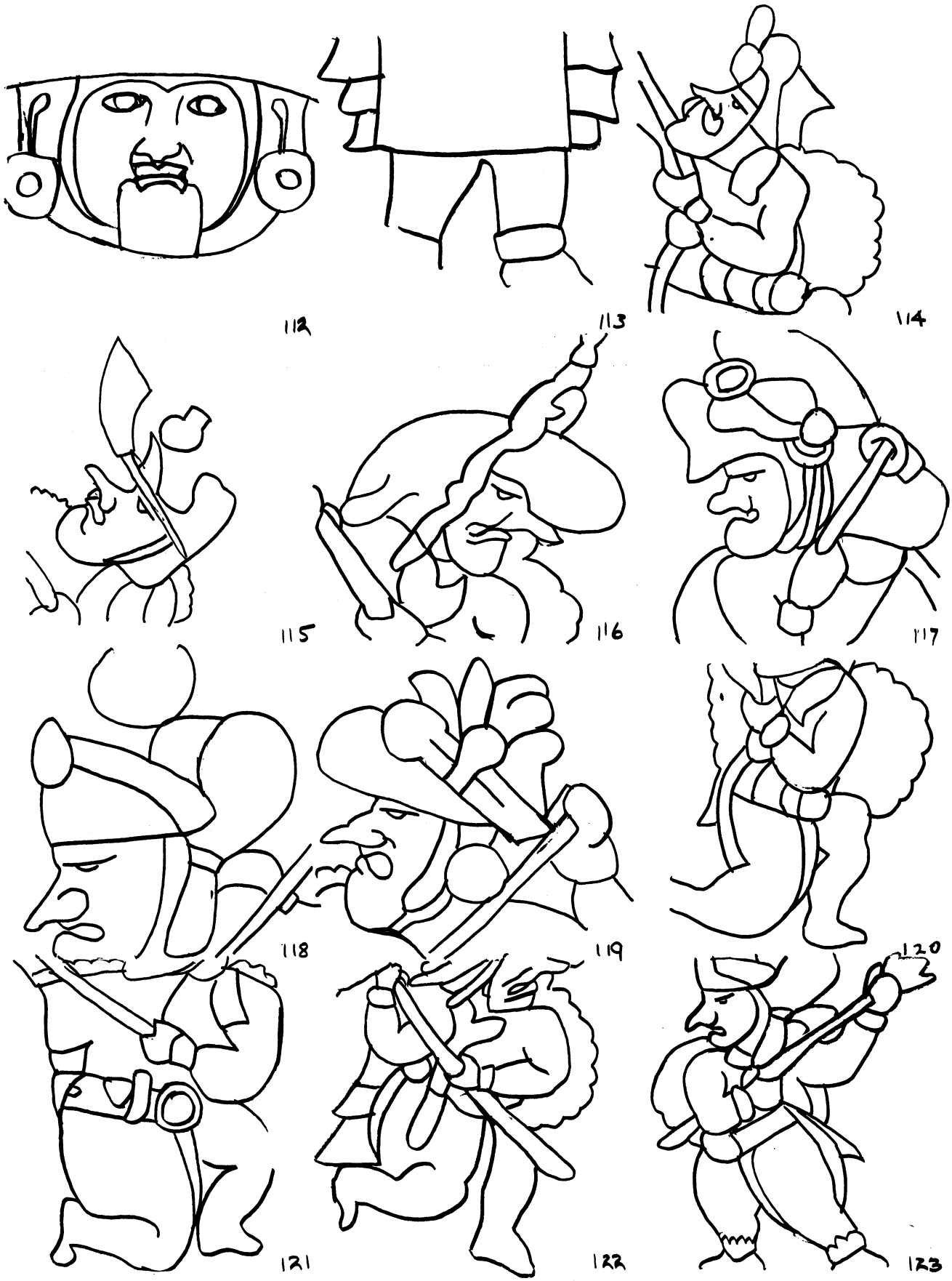
119 Person 7, Stela 2, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 49, p. 174.)

120 Person 2, Stela 2, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 49, p. 174.)

121 Person 3, Stela 2, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 49, p. 174.)

122 Person 4, Stela 2, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 49, p. 174.)

123 Person 6, Stela 2, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 49, p. 174.)


112
113
114
115
116
117
118
119
120
121
122
123

Figure

124 Left central figure, Stela 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 67, p. 216.)

125 Right central figure, Stela 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 67, p. 216.)

126 Right central figure, Stela 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 67, p. 216.)

127 Top figure, Stela 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 67, p. 216.)

128 Top figure, Stela 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 67, p. 216.)

129 Right central figure, Stela 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 67, p. 216.)

130 Left central figure, Stela 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 67, p. 216.)

131 Left central figure, Stela 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 67, p. 216.)

132 Right central figure, Stela 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 67, p. 216.)

133 Top figure, Stela 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 67, p. 216.)

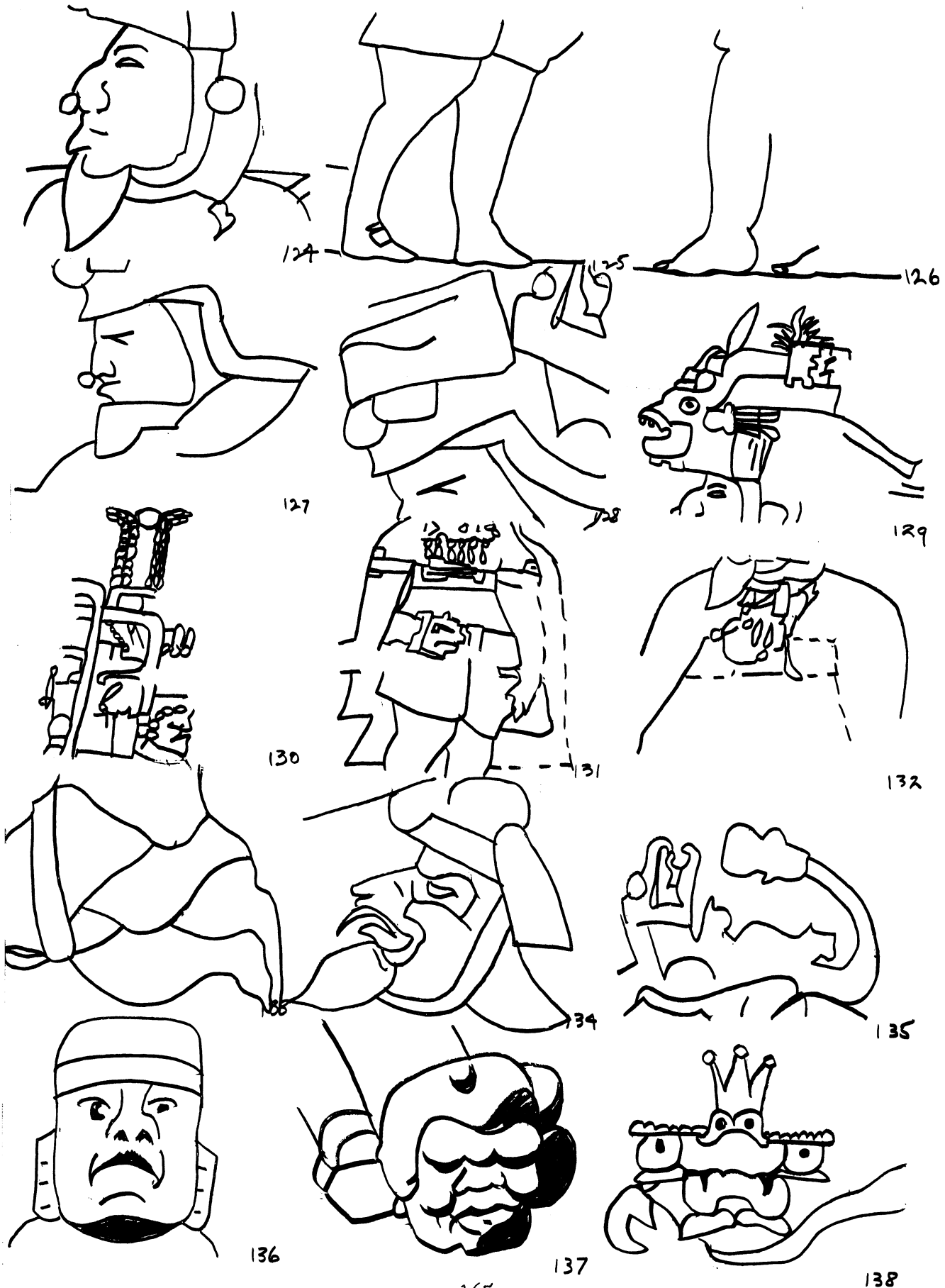
134 Side figure, Stela 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 67, p. 216.)

135 Top figure, Stela 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 67, p. 216.)

136 Monument M, Tres Zapotes.
(Stirling, 1943, Pl. 11.)

137 Monument F, Tres Zapotes.
(Stirling, 1943, Pl. 8a.)

138 Monument C, side A (upside down), Tres Zapotes.
(Stirling, 1943, Pl. 5 and 17a.)


124
125
126
127
128
129
130
131
132
133
134
135
136
137
138

Figure

139 Stela A, Tres Zapotes.
(Stirling, 1943, Fig. 3, p. 12.)

140 Stela A (bottom), Tres Zapotes.
(Stirling, 1943, Fig. 3, p. 12.)

141 Stela D, Tres Zapotes.
(Stirling, 1943, Fig. 4, p. 15.)

142 Stela C (Jaguar mask), Tres Zapotes.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 62, p. 206.)

143 Monument 5, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 56, p. 188.)

144 Monument 8, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 56, p. 188.)

145 Monkey head, Monument 12, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 62.)

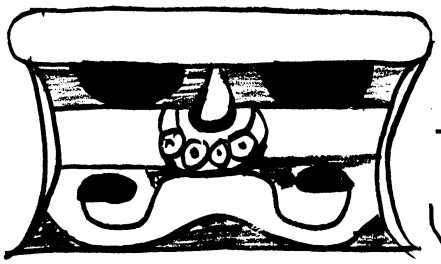
146 Collar, Monument 12, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 53a, p. 180.)

147 Belt, Monument 12, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 53b, p. 180.)

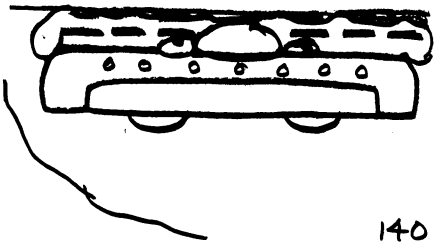
148 Fish or whale, Monument 20, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 56, p. 201.)

149 Monument 23, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 58, p. 203.)

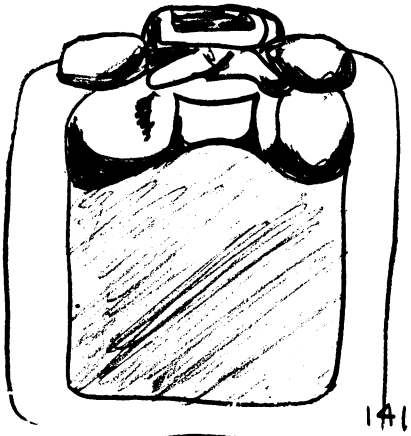
150 End of stone sarcophagus, Monument 6, La Venta.
(Stirling, 1943, Pl. 47a and b.)



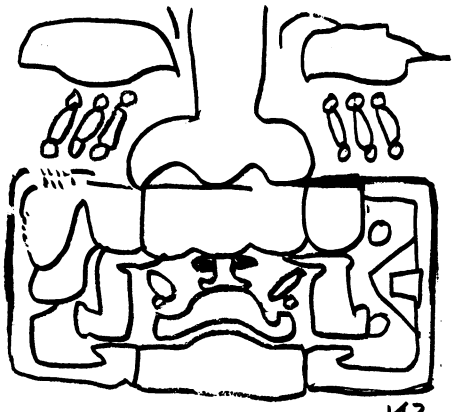
139



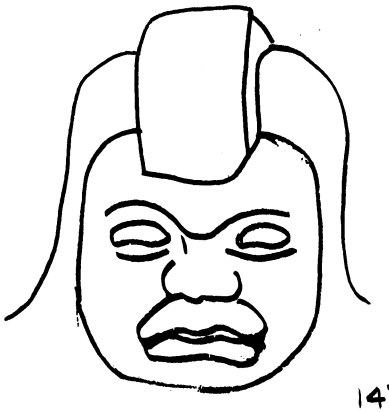
140



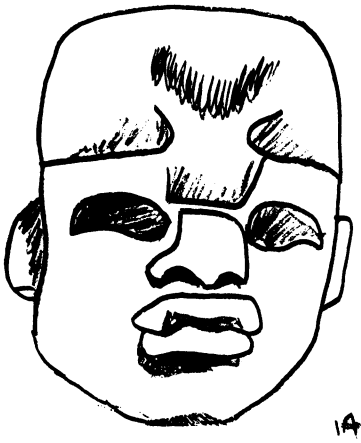
141



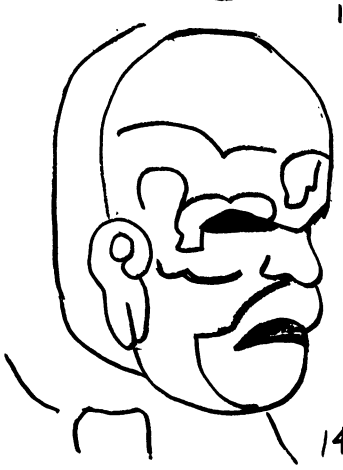
142



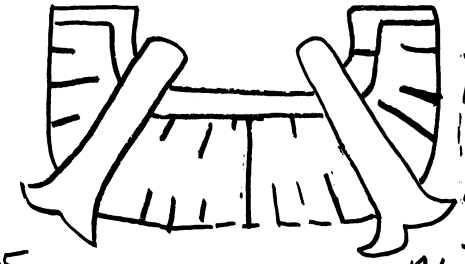
143



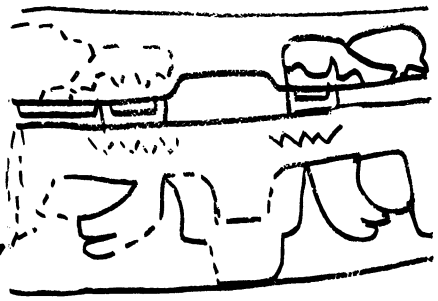
144



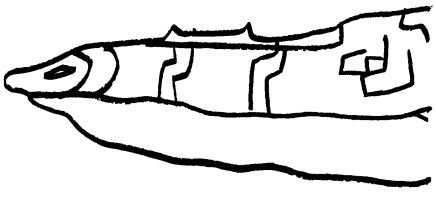
145



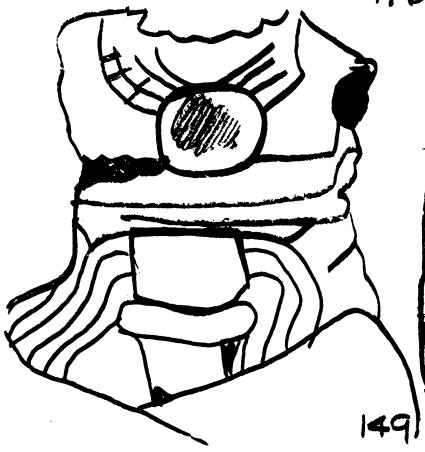
146



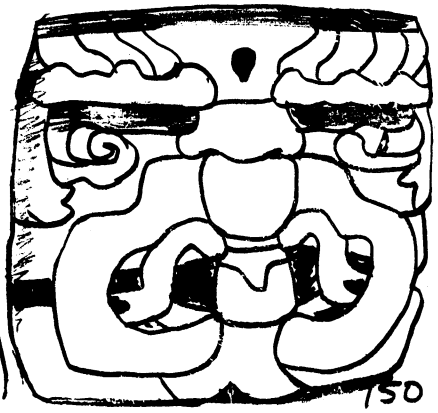
147



148



149



150

Figure

151 Side of Monument 6, La Venta.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 30, p. 70.)

152 Monument 13, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 61, p. 203.)

153 Monument 13, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 61, p. 203.)

154 Monument 13, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 61, p. 203.)

155 Reconstructed top part of Monument 15, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 54, p. 183.)

156 Reconstructed lower part of Monument 15, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 54, p. 183.)

157 Monument 25, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 59, p. 205.)

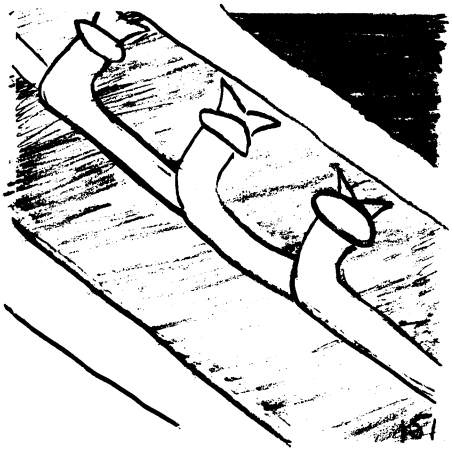
158 Monument 6, San Lorenzo.
(Stirling, 1955, Pl. 14b.)

159 Monument 9, San Lorenzo.
(Stirling, 1955, Pl. 18b.)

160 Monument 9, San Lorenzo.
(Stirling, 1955, Pl. 17b.)

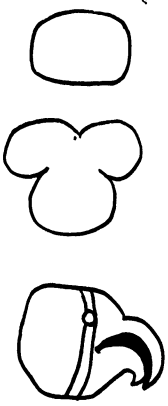
161 Monument 9, San Lorenzo.
(Stirling, 1955, Pl. 18.)

162 Monument 10, San Lorenzo.
(Covarrubias, 1957, p. 72, top.)

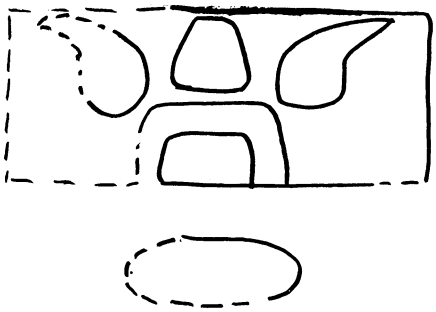


151

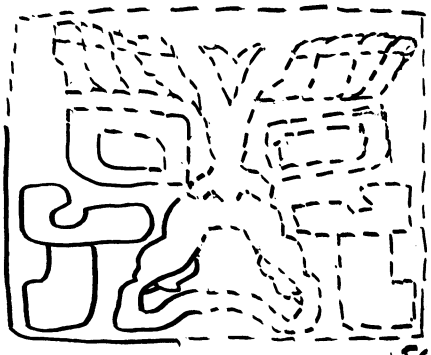
152 153



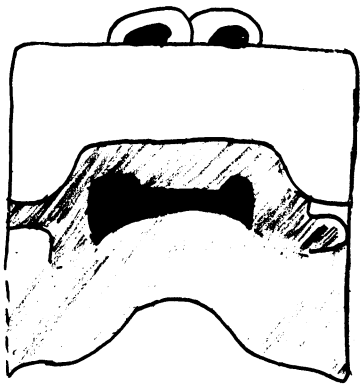
154



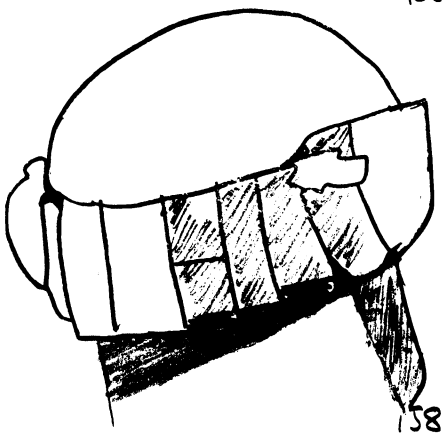
155



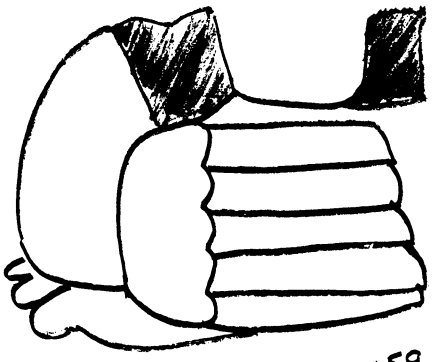
156



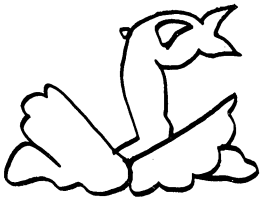
157



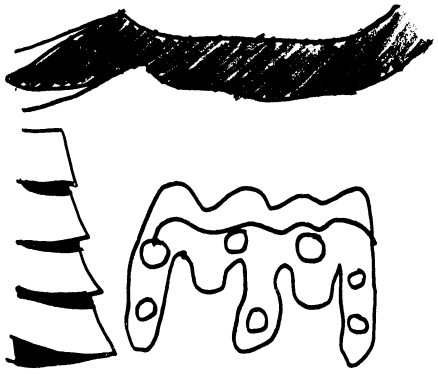
158



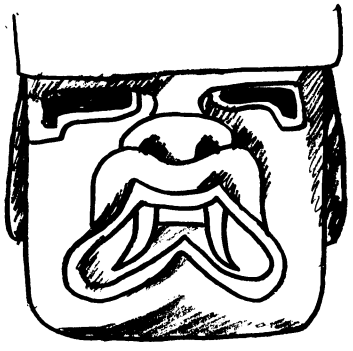
159



160



161



162

Figure

163 Monument 10, San Lorenzo.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 32, top, p. 72.)

164 Diopsite Jadeite Figurine from Bliss Collection, National Gallery, Washington.
(Lothrop, Foshag and Mahler, 1957, p. 233 and Pl. I.)

165 Stone Serpent, Potrero Nuevo.
(Stirling, 1955, Pl. 26b.)

166 Monument 1, Laguna de los Cerros.
(Medellin, 1960, Pl. 14 and 15.)

167 Monument 27, Laguna de los Cerros.
(Medellin, 1960, Pl. 30.)

168 Stela 1, Viejón, Veracruz (after Salmerón).
(Medellin Zenil, 1960, Pl. 9.)

169 Monument 1, Estero Rabón, Veracruz.
(Medellin Zenil, 1960, Pl. 1.)

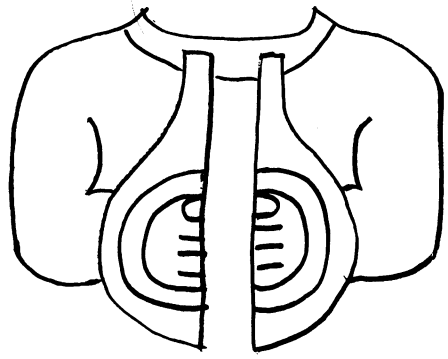
170 Stone Mask, Medias Aguas, Veracruz (after Salmerón).
(Medellin Zenil, 1960, Pl. 4.)

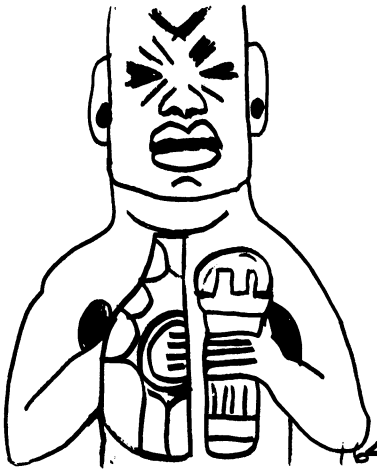
171 Stela, Cerro de la Piedra, Alvarado, Veracruz (after (Salmerón).
(Medellin Zenil, 1960, Pl. 6.)

172 Lower face, stone statue, San Martín Pajapán Mountain, Veracruz.
(Covarrubias, 1954, p. 80.)

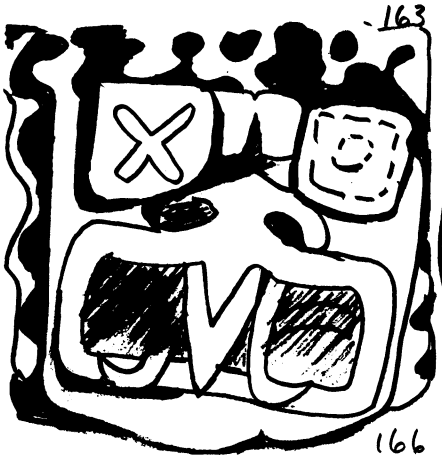
173 Upper face, stone statue, San Martín Pajapán Mountain, Veracruz.
(Covarrubias, 1954, p. 80.)

174 Rock carving, Piedro Parada, Guatemala.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 25, left, p. 64.)



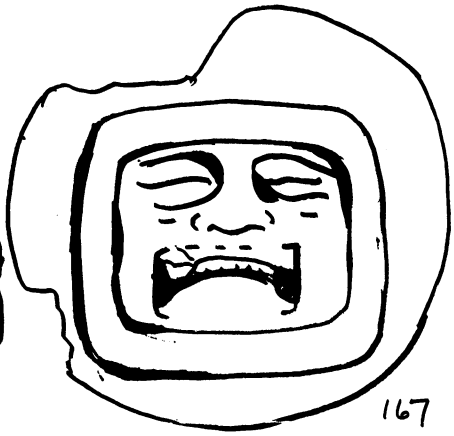


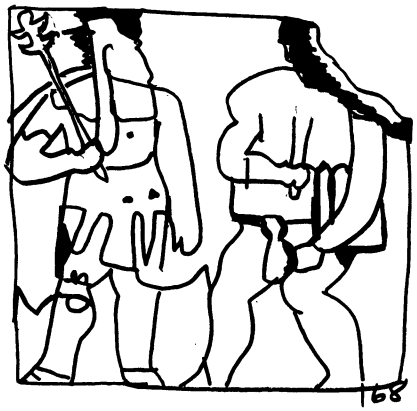
163



164

165

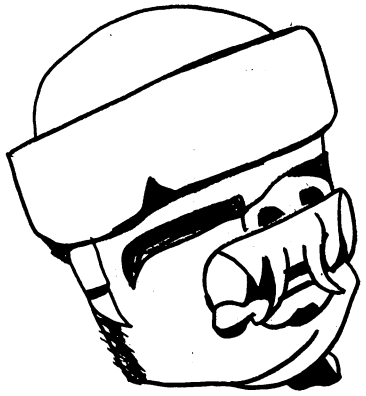


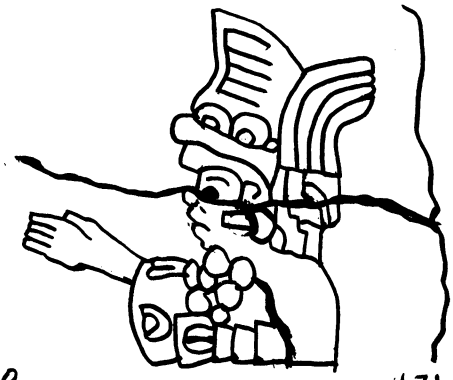


166

167

168

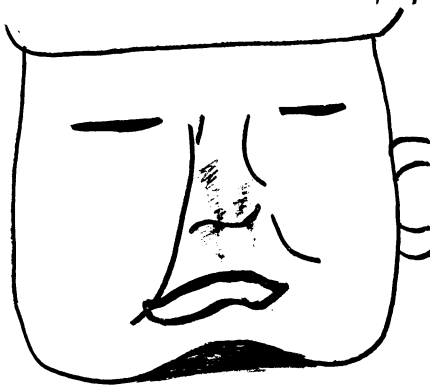




169

170

171



172

173

174

Figure

175 Rock carving, Piedro Parada, Guatemala.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 25, p. 64.)

176 Rock carving, Chalchuapa, El Salvador.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 25, p. 64.)

177 Rock carving, Chalchuapa, El Salvador.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 25, center, p. 64.)

178 Rock carving, Chalchuapa, El Salvador.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 25, p. 64.)

179 Rock carving, Chalchuapa, El Salvador.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 25, right, p. 64.)

180 Rock carving, Chalcatzingo, Morelos.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 24, p. 64.)

181 Rock carving, Chalcatzingo, Morelos.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 24, p. 64.)

182 Rock carving, Chalcatzingo, Morelos.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 24, p. 64.)

183 Rock carving, Chalcatzingo, Morelos.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 24, p. 64.)

184 Clay figurine, Gualupita (in American Museum of Natural History).
(Covarrubias, 1954, Pl. 14.)

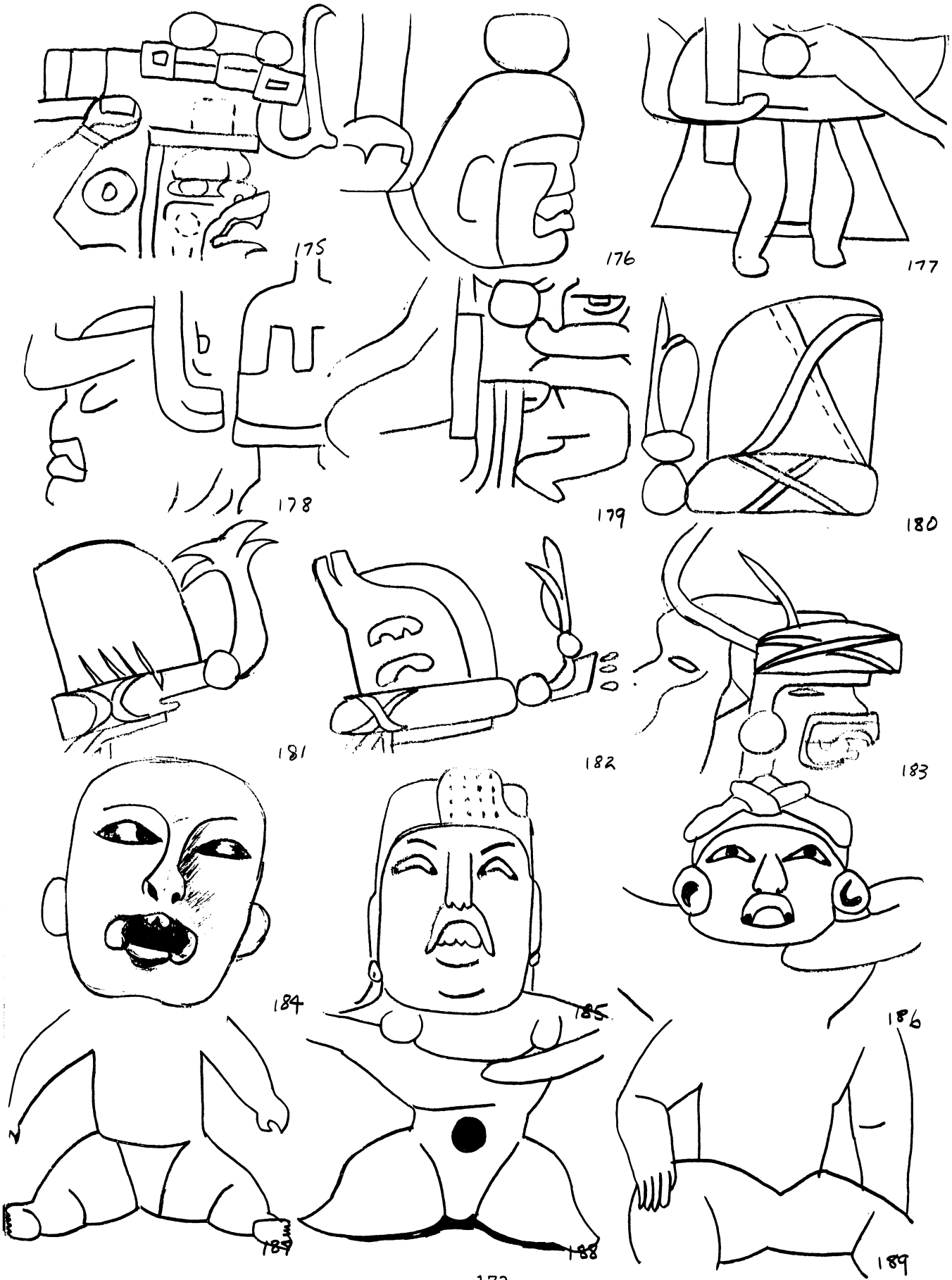
185 Hollow C-9 clay figurine, Gualupita.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 8, p. 29.)

186 Clay figurine, type A, Copilco.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 8, p. 29.)

187 C-9 type clay figurine, Gualupita.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 8, p. 29.)

188 Clay figurine, type A, Copilco.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 8, p. 29.)

189 Clay figurine, Tlatilco.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Pl. 1.)


175
176
177
178
179
180
181
182
183
184
185
186
187
188
189

Figure

190 Monument 11, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 58, p. 193.)

191 Incised Jadeite celt (in Museum Nac. Ant. Mex.).
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 33, p. 73.)

192 Stone axe.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 32, p. 71.)

193 Coarse buff ware, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 29, and Pl. 18.)

194 Plaque 1, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, Fig. 62, p. 211.)

195 Jadeite celt (in Mus. Nac. Ant. Mex.).
(Covarrubias, 1957, Pl. XVI.)

196 Jade celt of Tomb E offering, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 56, left.)

197 Stone statue, San Lorenzo.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 32, p. 72.)

198 Incised jadeite celt.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 34, p. 74.)

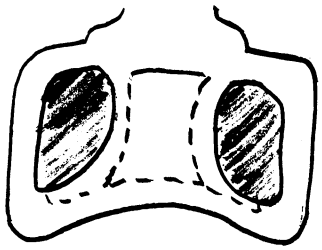
199 Jaguar god, Necaxa, Puebla (in American Museum of Natural History).
(Covarrubias, 1954, Pl. 6.)

200 Incised decoration on mask.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 35, p. 80.)

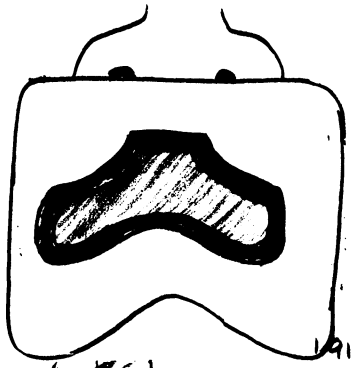
201 Incised decoration on jadeite mask.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 35, p. 80.)

202 Incised design on jadeite celt.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 33 right, p. 73.)

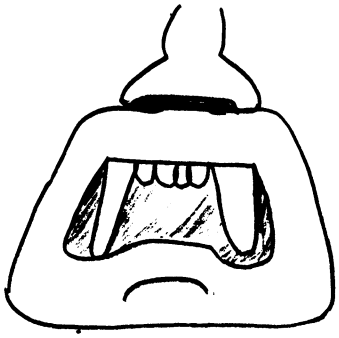
203 "Olmec dragon."
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 36a, p. 82.)



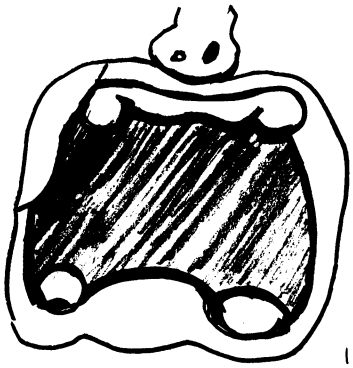
190



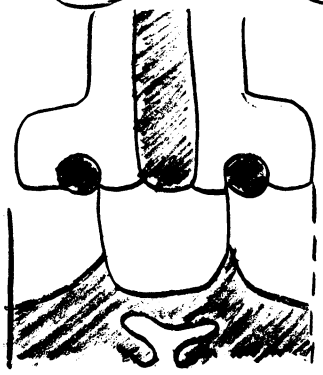
191



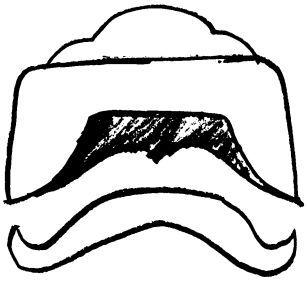
192



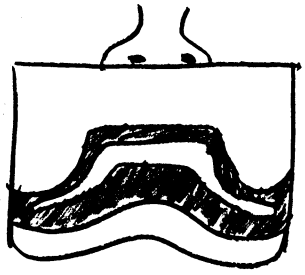
193



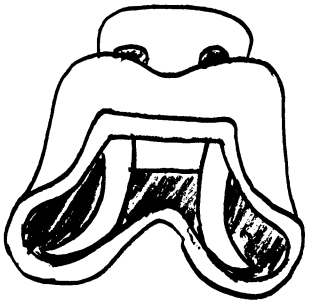
194



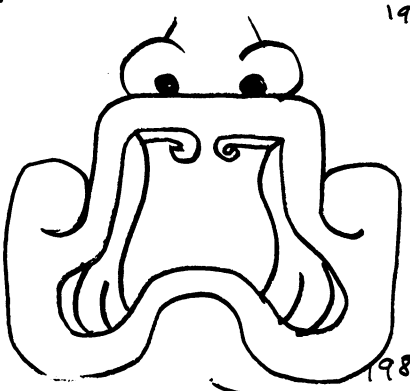
195



196

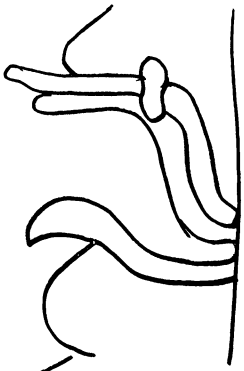


197



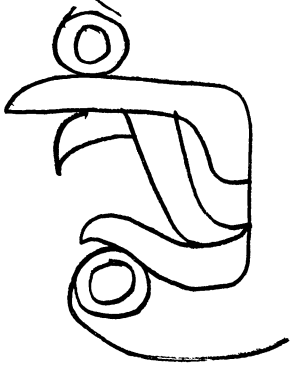
198

199

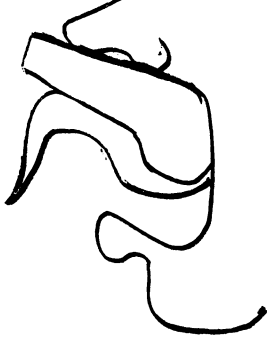


200

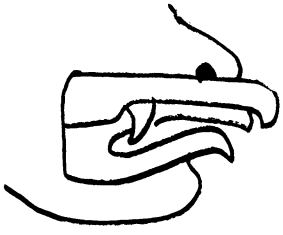
201



201



202



203

Figure

204 Rock carving, Chalcatzingo, Morelos.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 24, p. 64.)

205 Jade celt from Tomb E, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 56 left.)

206 Jadeite axe, Mixteca, Oaxaca.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Pl. XVI.)

207 Monument 6, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 58, p. 193.)

208 Altar 4, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 58, p. 193.)

209 Design on earplug, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 46b, p. 160.)

210 Engraved celt, Offering 2, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 35, p. 141.)

211 Secondary design on celt, Offering 2, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 35, p. 141.)

212 Accessory design on celt.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 36b, p. 143.)

213 Jadeite incised celt, (in Mus. Nac. Ant. Mex.).
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 33 top, p. 73.)

214 Person 8, Altar 5, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 57f, p. 190.)

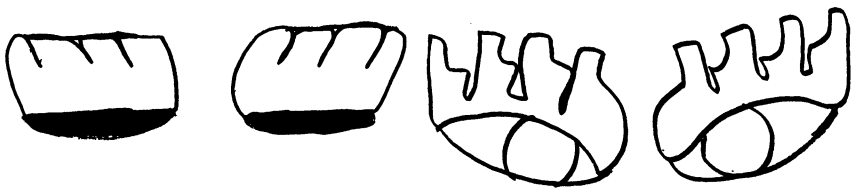
215 Clay figurine, type I-B-3b/II, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 27d.)

216 Jade figurine 1, Mound A-2, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 46, lower.)

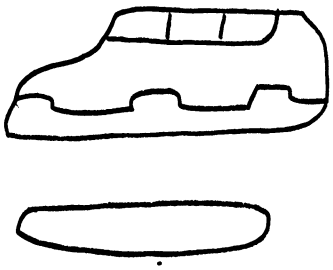
217 Jade figurine 2, Mound A-2, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 46, lower.)

218 Profile jade figurine 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 48, lower left.)

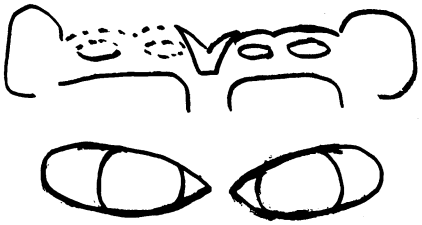
219 Profile jade figurine 4, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 48, lower right.)



205 206

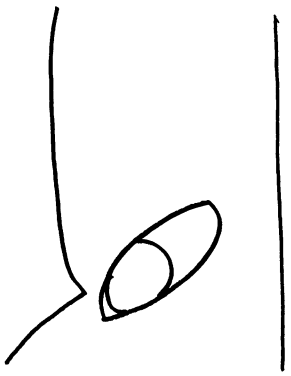


207

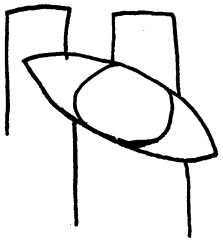


208

209

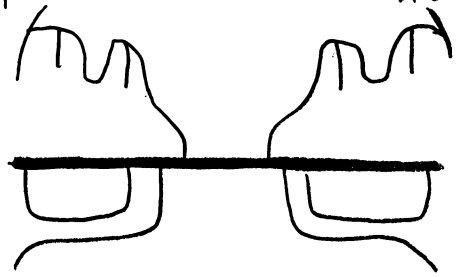


211



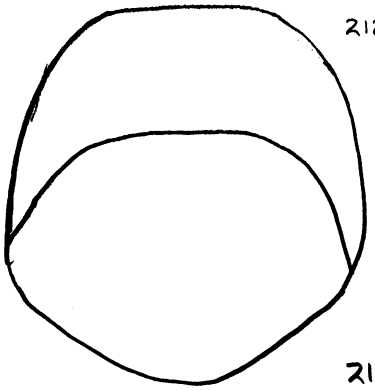
212

210

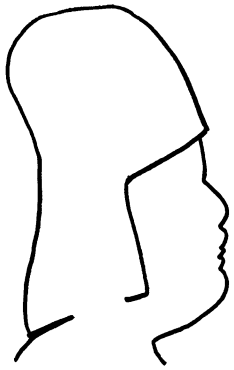


213

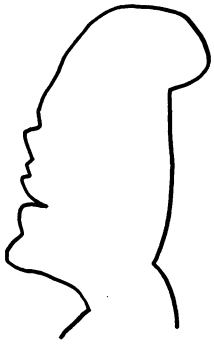
214



215



216



217

218

219

Figure

220 Profile figurine 10, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 50, lower right.)

221 Jade bead, Chiapas.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 36d, p. 143.)

222 "Kuntz axe"--Veracruz or Oaxaca.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 36h, p. 143.)

223 Monument 11, Finca San Vicente, Tabasco (La Venta).
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 11a.)

224 Front view, figurine 10, Offering 4, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Pl. 33.)

225 Serpentine Mask, Tuxtla, Chiapas.
(Covarrubias, 1954, Pl. 10.)

226 Crying dwarf (or baby), Cerro de las Mesas (in Mus. Nac. Ant. Mex.).
(Covarrubias, 1954, Pl. 11, lower.)

227 Jadeite statuette.
(Covarrubias, 1954, Pl. 12, top.)

228 Jade celt, Tomb E, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 56, left.)

229 Engraved celt, Offering #2, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 35e, p. 141.)

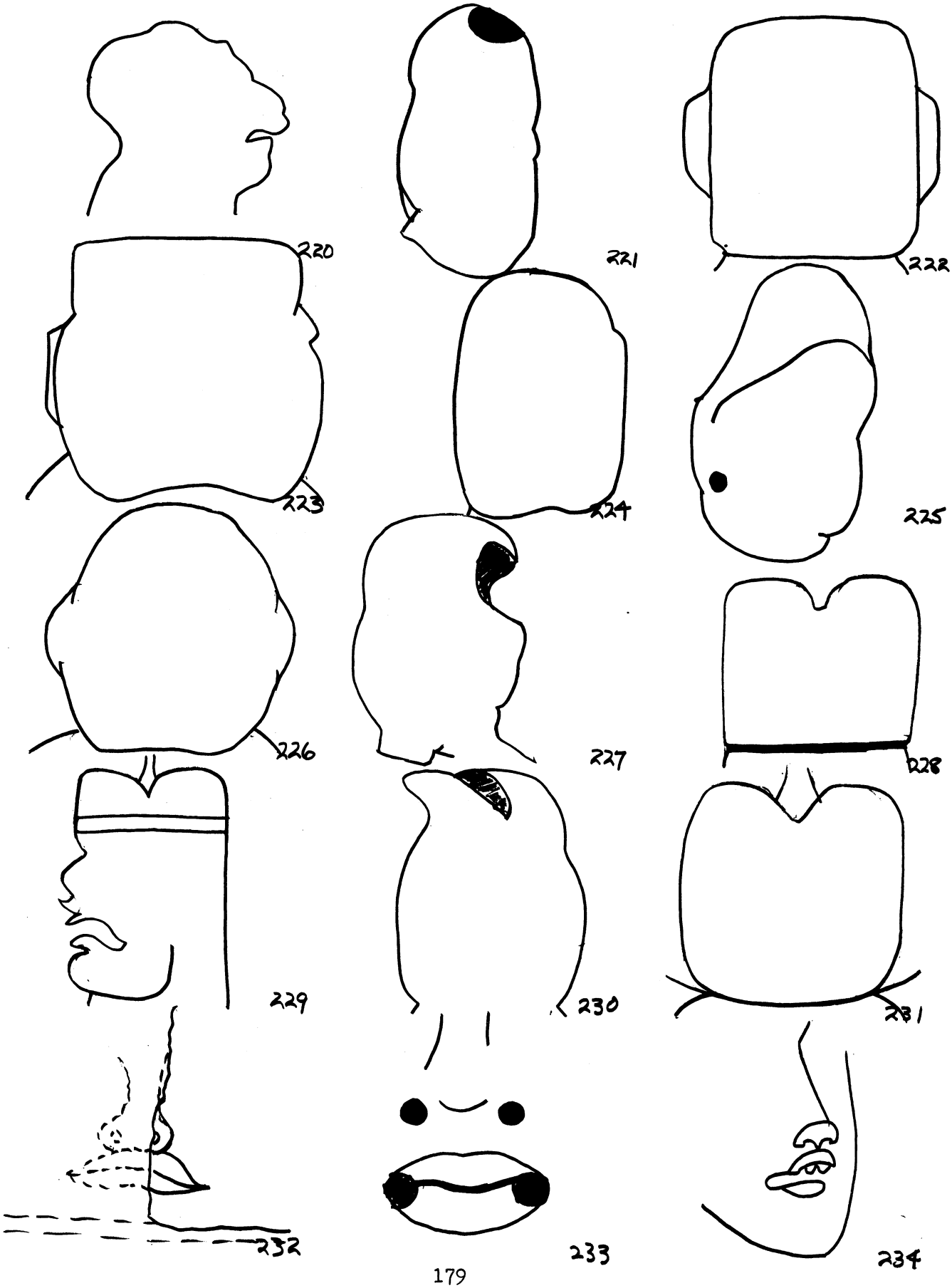
230 Incised Figurine, Mixteca.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 36f, p. 143.)

231 Incised Jadeite Celt (Mus. Nac. Antr. Mex.).
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 33, left, p. 73.)

232 Small effigy bowl, Tres Zapotes.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 64, p. 212.)

233 Tres Zapotes Pottery Figurine Head, Style I-A-1.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 23d, front.)

234 Jade bead, Chiapas.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 36d, p. 143.)


220
221
222
223
224
225
226
227
228
229
230
231
232
233
234

Figure

235 Serpentine Mask.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 35, Top right, p. 80.)

236 Jadeite Plaque, Olinalá, Guerrero.
(Covarrubias, 1954, p. 98.)

237 Figure 6, Altar 5, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 52, p.177.)

238 Head, Guerrero.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 36L, p. 143.)

239 Rock carving, El Salvador.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 27 right, p. 64.)

240 Dwarf, Basalt Stela, Alvarado, Veracruz.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 29, p. 69.)

241 Tres Zapotes Figurine, Style I-A.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 23f, left.)

242 C-9 Hollow clay figurine, Gualupita.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 8, p. 29.)

243 Clay figurine, Type A, Copilco.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 8, p. 29.)

244 Fragment effigy bowl, Tres Zapotes.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 64, p. 212.)

245 Style II-A figurine, Tres Zapotes.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 25b.)

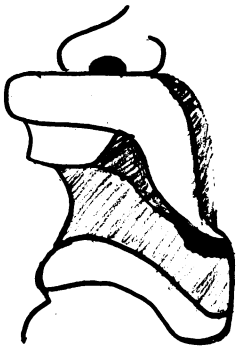
246 Clay figurine, Gualupita, Morelos (American Museum of Natural History).
(Covarrubias, 1954, Pl. 14.)

247 Engraved Plaque.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 36b, p. 143.)

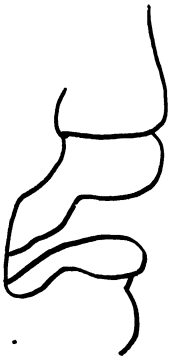
248 Jade bead, Chiapas.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 36d, p. 143.)

249 Figurine 20, Offering 4, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 38, p. 153.)

235

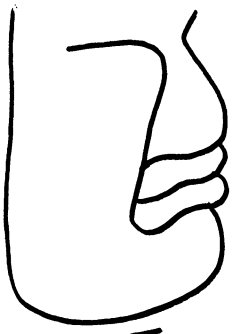


236



237

238



239

240

241

242

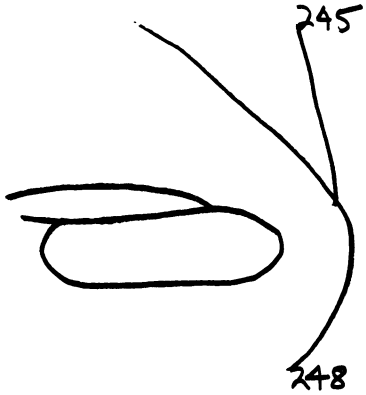
243

244

245

246

247



248

249

Figure

250 Person #3, Altar 5, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 57a, p. 190.)

251 Engraved celt, Simojovel, Tabasco.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 36a, p. 143.)

252 Head, Guerrero.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 36e, p. 143.)

253 Jadeite plaque, Guerrero (Mus. Nac. Antr. Mex.).
(Covarrubias, 1954, p. 98.)

254 Rock Carving, El Salvador.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 25, Upper right, p. 64.)

255 Jadeite mask.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 35, lower right, p. 80.)

256 Main figure, Altar 7, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 56, p. 188.)

257 Jade bead, Chiapas.
(Vaillant, 1956, Pl. 3, upper right.)

258 "Kuntz Axe," Veracruz or Oaxaca.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 36h, p. 143.)

259 Rock carving, El Salvador.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 25, p. 64.)

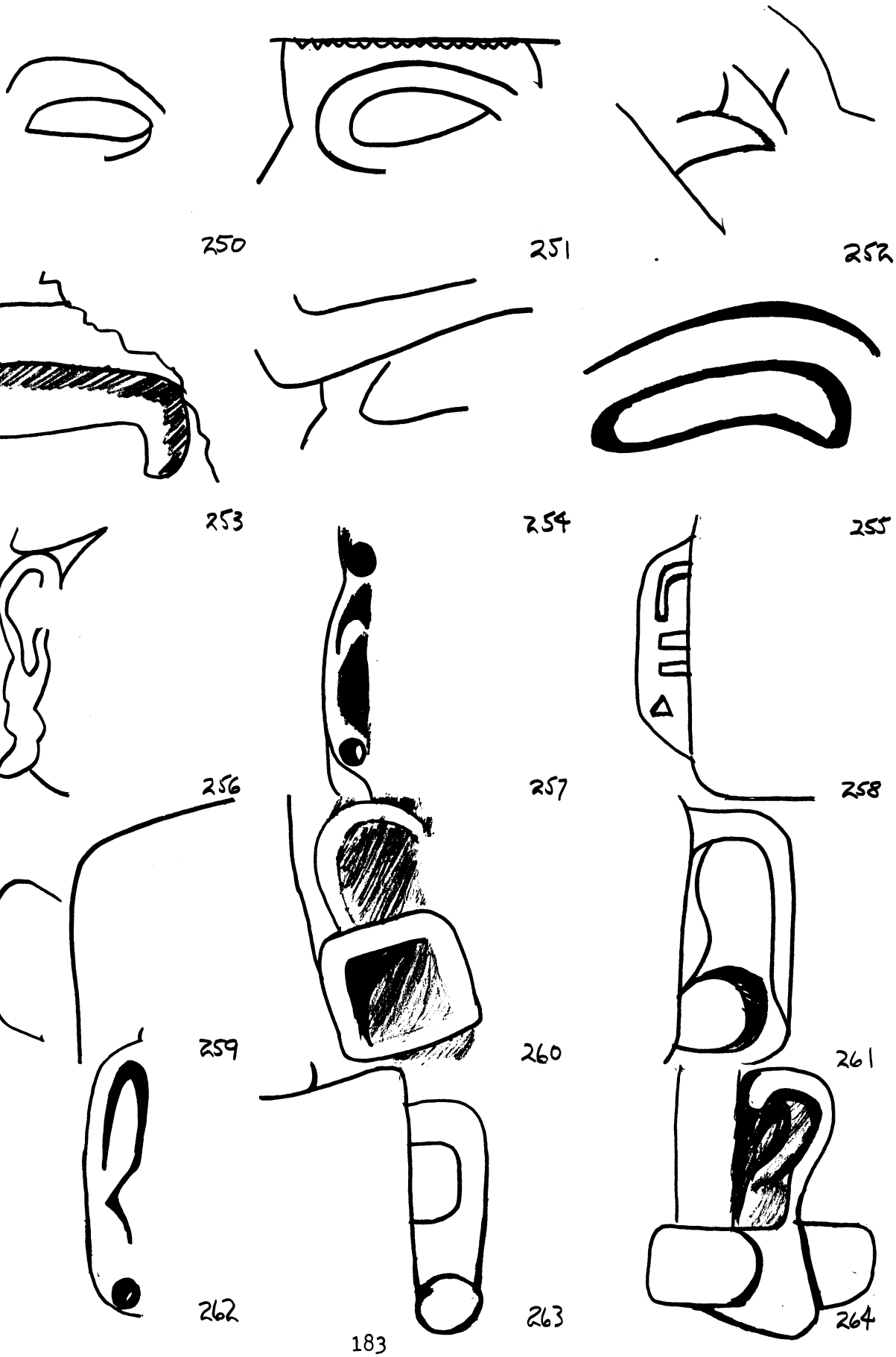
260 Basalt Stela, Alvarado, Veracruz.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 29, p. 69.)

261 Wooden mask, Guerrero.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Pl. X, upper.)

262 Jadeite mask.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 35, p. 80, Pl. X.)

263 "Olmec Dragon."
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 36a, p. 82.)

264 Monument 1, San Lorenzo.
(Stirling, 1955, Pl. 6a.)


250
251
252
253
254
255
256
257
258
259
260
261
262
263
264

Figure

265 Stela 1, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 56, p. 188.)

266 Stela 2, Center figure, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 49, p. 174.)

267 Figure 8, Altar 5, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 57-1, p. 190.)

268 Figure 2, Altar 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 57j, p. 190.)

269 Jaguar Monster, Stela C, Tres Zapotes.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 62, p. 206.)

270 Monument 1, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 56, p. 188.)

271 Monument 5, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 56, p. 188.)

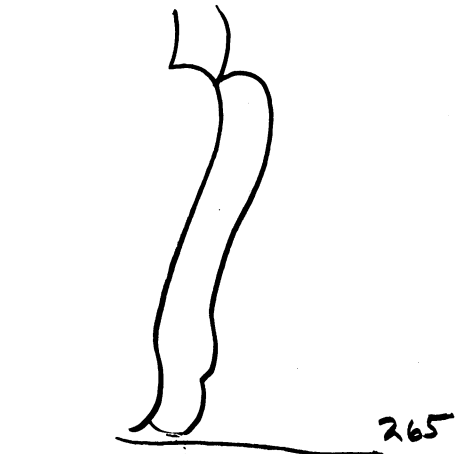
272 Monument 1, San Lorenzo.
(Stirling, 1955, Pl. 6b.)

273 Monument 19, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 55, p. 198.)

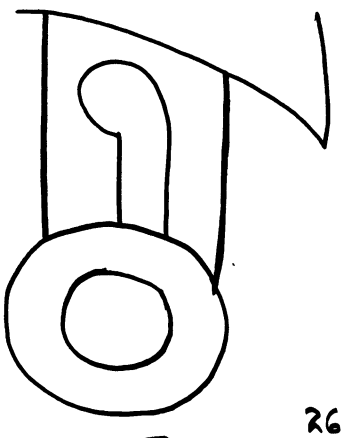
274 Central figure, Stela 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 67 and 68, p. 217.)

275 Top figure, Stela 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 67, p. 216.)

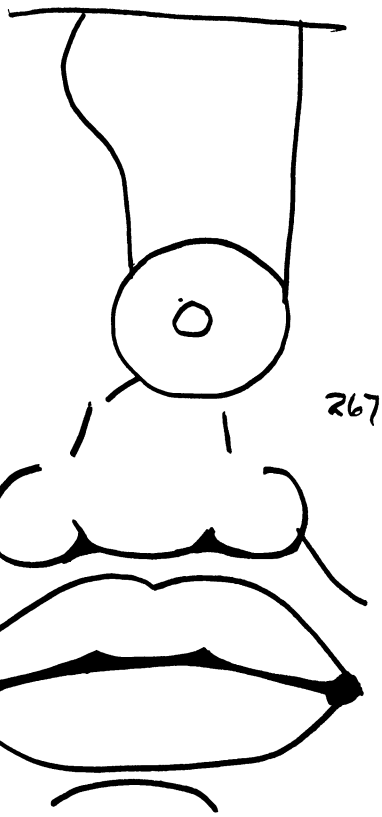
276 Clay figurine, Type C-9, Gualupita.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 8, p. 29.)



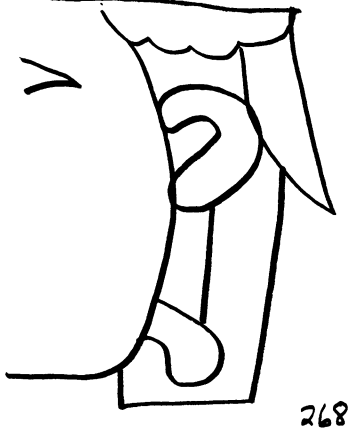
265



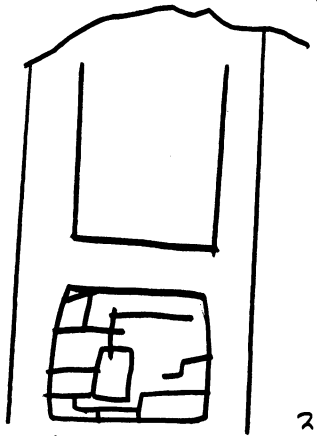
266



267

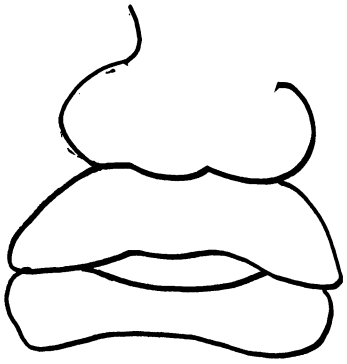


268



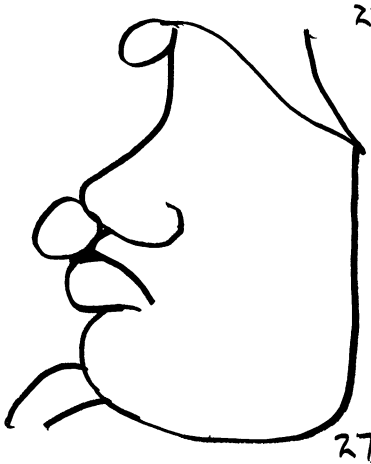
269

270



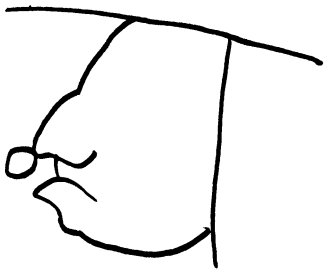
271

272

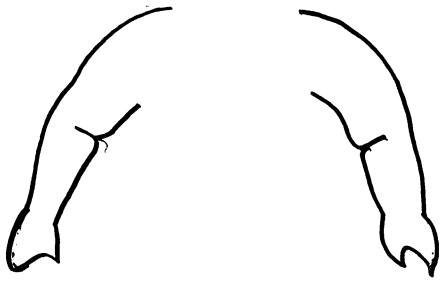


273

274



275



276

Figure

277 Stone "Axe."
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 32, Lower left, p. 72.)

278 Incised jadeite celt.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 33, upper left, p. 73.)

279 Jade Tiger, Necaxa, Puebla.
(Covarrubias, 1957, facing p. 78.)

280 Votive axe of Aventurine Quartz (Brit. Mus.).
(Saville, 1929, F. 84, p. 270.)

281 Jadeite Statuette.
(Covarrubias, 1954, Pl. 12, top.)

282 Chinless Baby statuette, Iguala, Guerrero.
(Covarrubias, 1954, Pl. 12, bottom.)

283 Green stone idol.
(Saville, 1929a, Fig. 98, p. 338.)

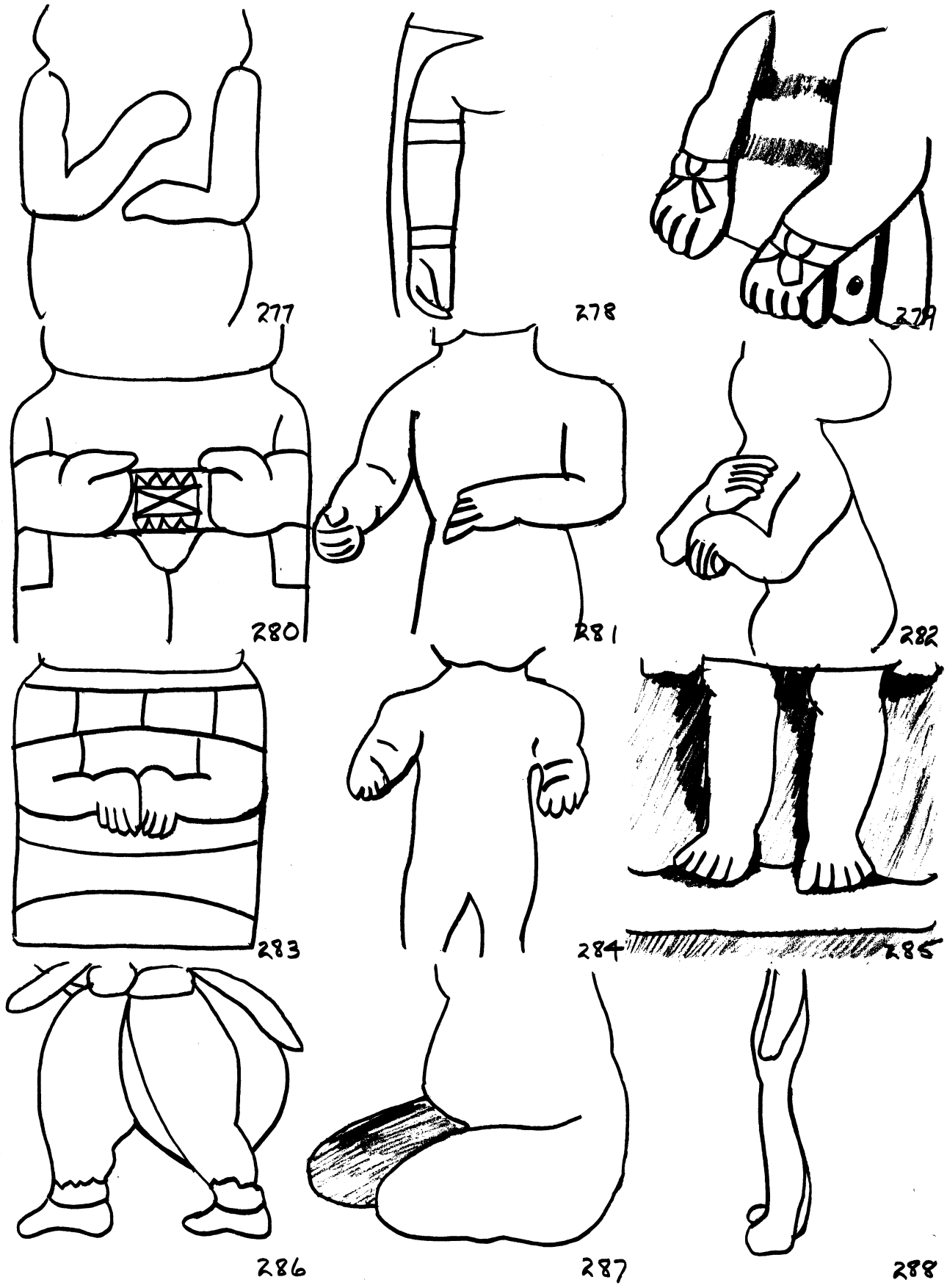
284 Figurine 8, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 50, top.)

285 Stela 1, La Venta.
(Stirling, 1943, Pl. 33a.)

286 Figure 6, Stela 2, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 49, p. 174.)

287 Clay figurine torso, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 31i, right.)

288 Jade figurine 4, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 48.)


277
278
279
280
281
282
283
284
285
286
287
288

Figure

289 Figurine 10, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 50.)

290 Profile, Figurine 11, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 51.)

291 Stone Figurine, Museum of Villahermosa Tabasco.
(Postcard photograph, loaned by R. F. Heizer.)

292 Stone Ax.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 32, lower left, p. 72.)

293 Clay figurine, Tlatilco.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Pl. I, lower left.)

294 Masked figure Stela 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 67, p. 216.)

295 Figure 3, Altar 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 51, p. 176.)

296 Figure 2, Altar 7, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 57k, p. 190.)

297 Jadeite statuette.
(Covarrubias, 1954, Pl. 12, top.)

298 Rock carving, Piedra Parada, Guatemala.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 25, p. 64.)

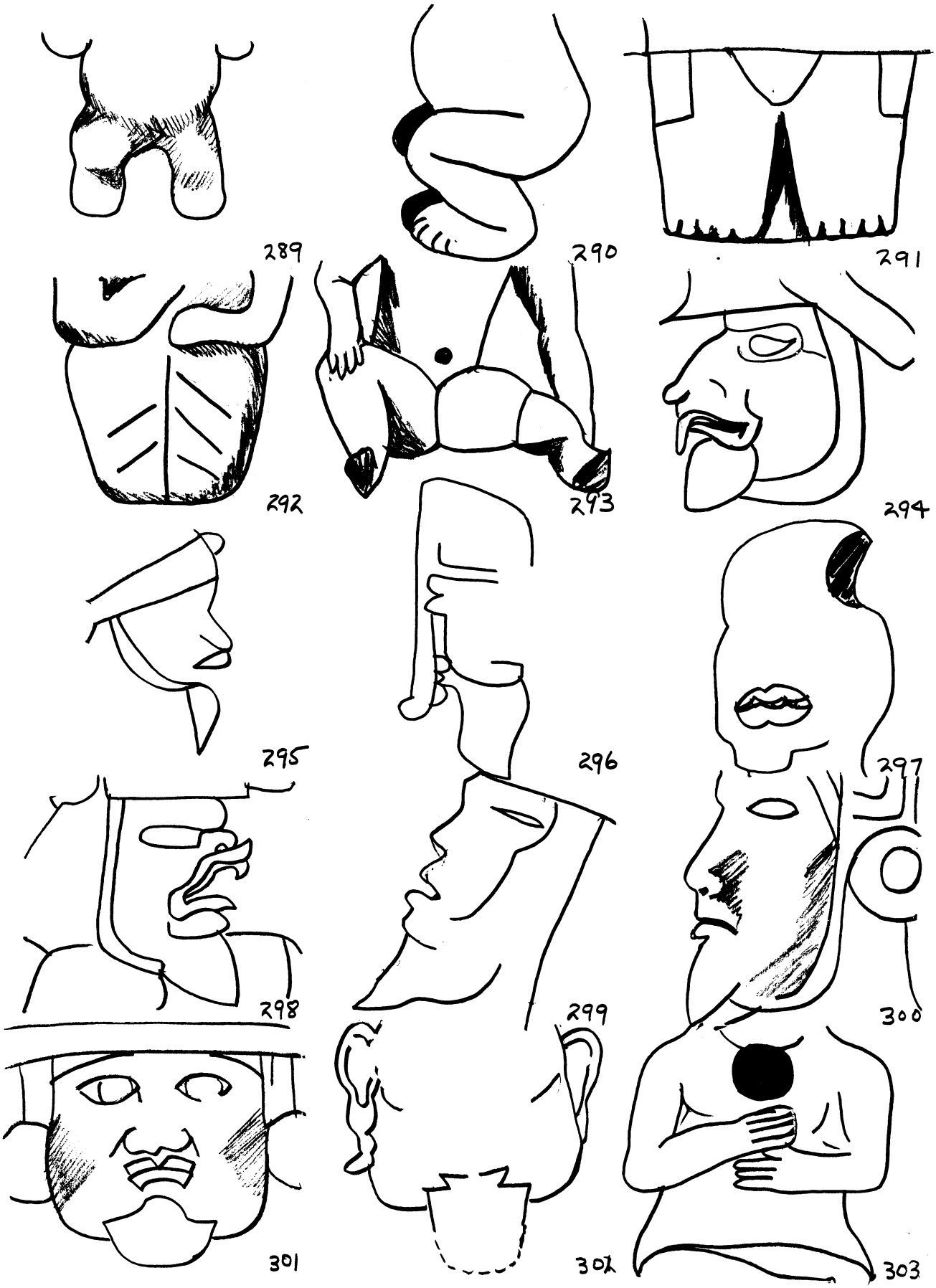
299 Rock carving, Chalcatzingo, Morelos.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 24, p. 64.)

300 Black Basalt Stela, Alvarado, Veracruz.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 29, p. 69.)

301 Stela 2, Main figure, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 56, p. 188.)

302 Main figure, Altar 7, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 56, p. 188.)

303 Inlaid Hematite ornament on Figurine 1, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 46, upper left.)


289
290
291
292
293
294
295
296
297
298
299
300
301
302
303

Figure

304 Engraved celt, Offering 2, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 35b, p. 141.)

305 Back of Monument 23, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Pl. 52a.)

306 Jadeite Jaguar figure, Necaxa, Puebla.
(Covarrubias, 1954, Pl. 6.)

307 Rock carving, Chalcatzingo, Morelos.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 24, p. 64.)

308 Rock carving, Chalcatzingo, Morelos.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 24, p. 64.)

309 Rock carving, Chalchuapa, El Salvador.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 25, right, p. 64.)

310 Basalt stela, Alvarado, Veracruz.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 29, p. 69.)

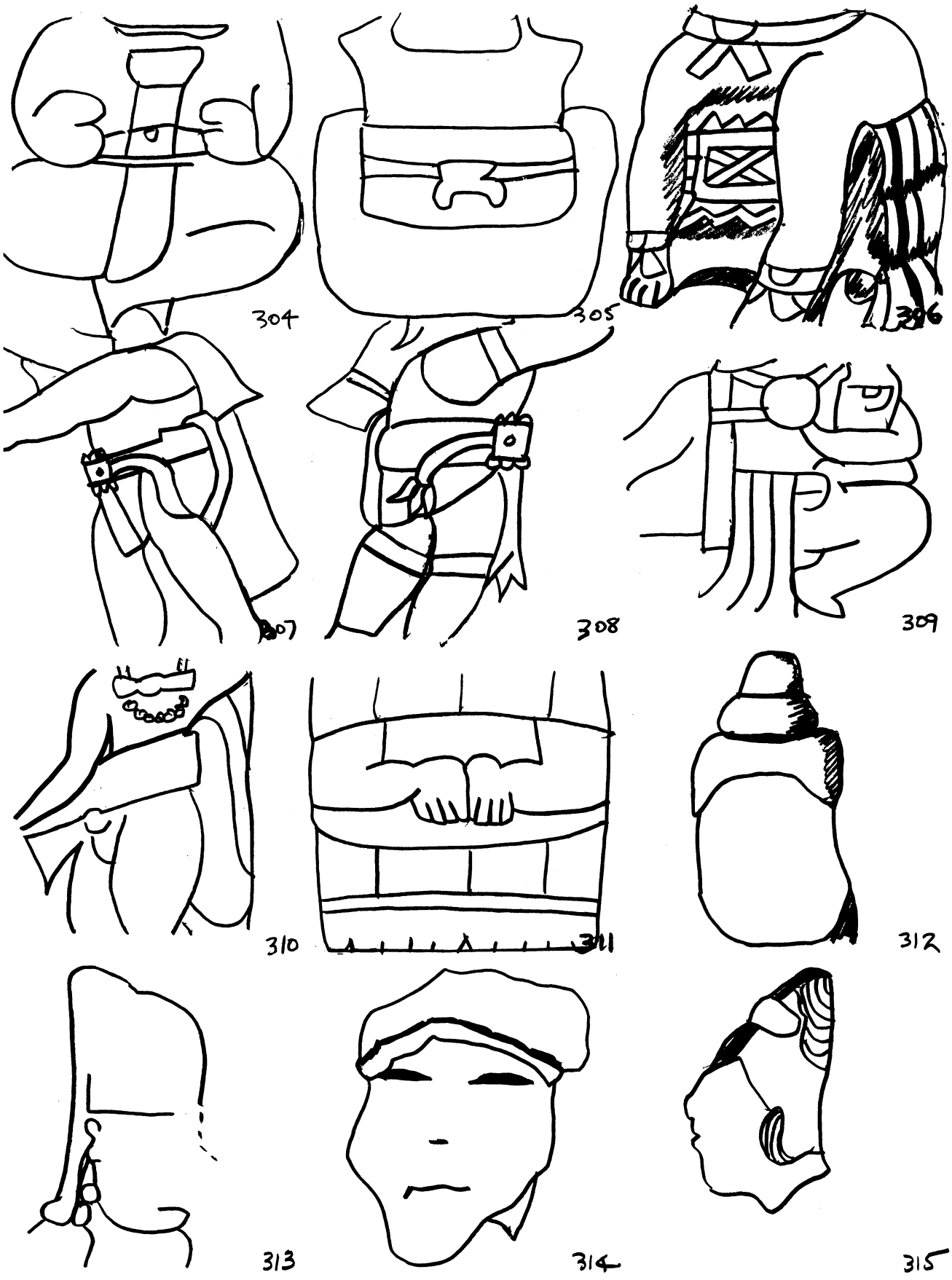
311 Greenstone figure.
(Saville, 1929a, Fig. 98, p. 338.)

312 Figurine head Type II-A-1, Tres Zapotes.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 25a.)

313 Person 2, Altar 7, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 57k, p. 190.)

314 Clay figurine head, Type I-B-4/II, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 28j.)

315 Clay figurine head, Type I-B-4, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 29a.)


304
305
306
307
308
309
310
311
312
313
314
315

Figure

316 Jade figurine 1, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 46.)

317 Jaguar baby in arms of figurine-jade (Brooklyn Mus.)
(Spinden, 1947, p. 12.)

318 Basalt Stela, Alvarado, Veracruz.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 29, p. 69.)

319 Stone Ax.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 32, bottom, p. 72.)

320 Incised jadeite celt.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 33, p. 73.)

321 Bird design (unrolled) on incised obsidian core, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 48, p. 170.)

322 Design on Headdress in Altar 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 59d, p. 195.)

323 "Glyph," Monument 13, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 59e, p. 195.)

324 Owl (?), Monument 7, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Pl. 65a.)

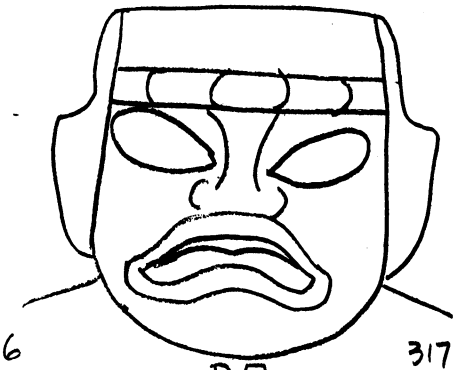
325 Serpent, Monument 19, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 55, p. 198.)

326 Fish on headdress of Main Figure, Stela 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 67, p. 216.)

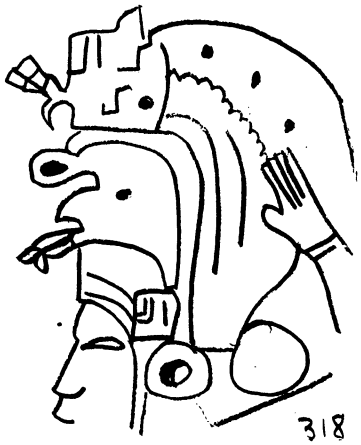
327 Tuxtla Statuette (Duckbill), Tuxtla Gutierrez, Chiapas.
(Covarrubias, 1954, Pl. 13.)

328 Incised Jade earplug, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 46b, p. 160.)

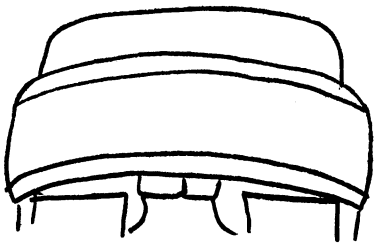
316



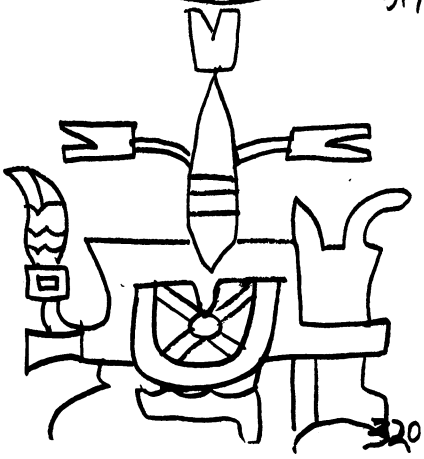
317



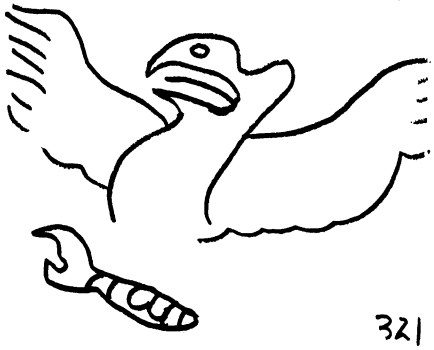
318



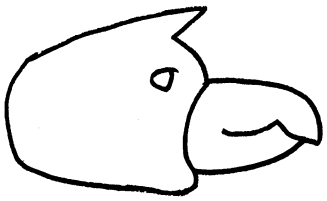
319



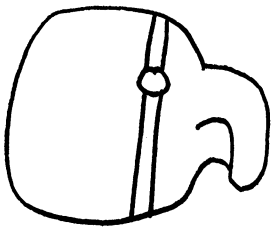
320



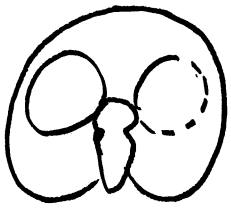
321



322



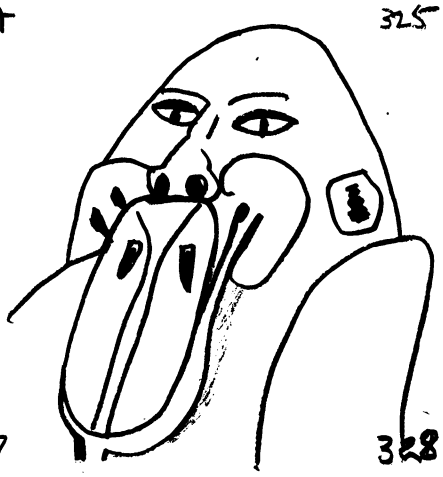
324



325

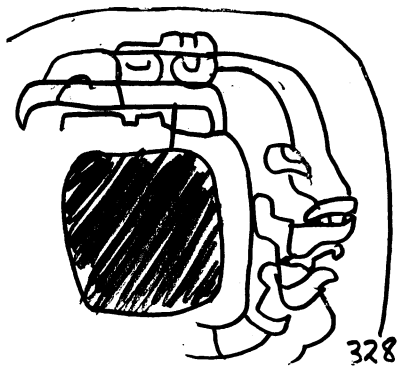
326

327

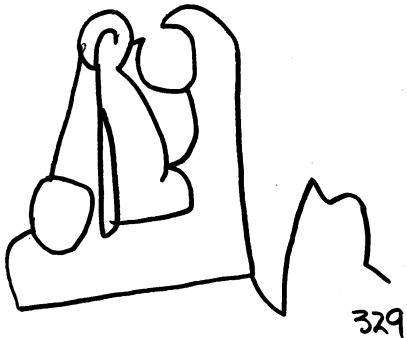


328

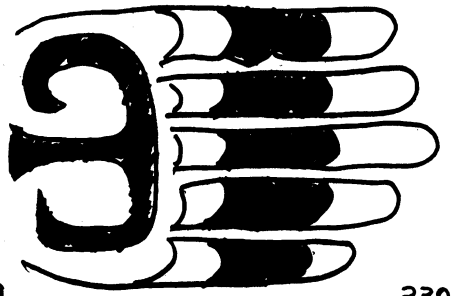
Figure



328



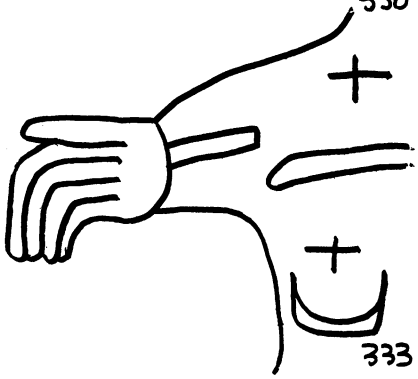
329



330

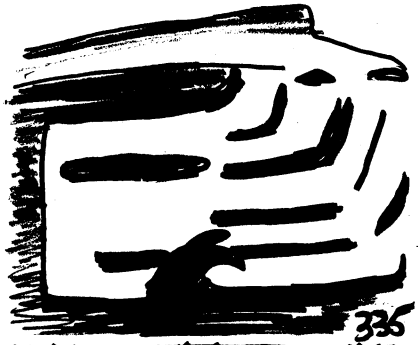
331

332

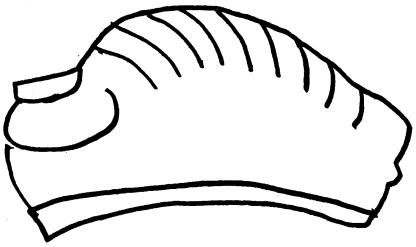


333

334



335



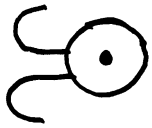
336

337

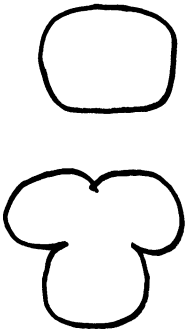
338

339

340



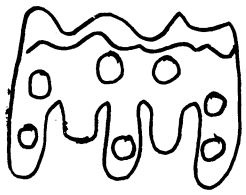
341



342

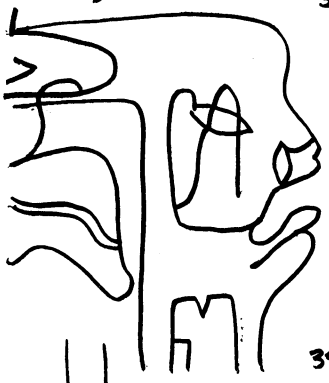
Figure

343

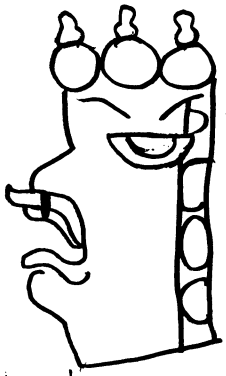


344

345

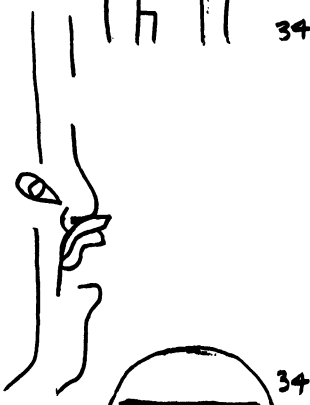


346



347

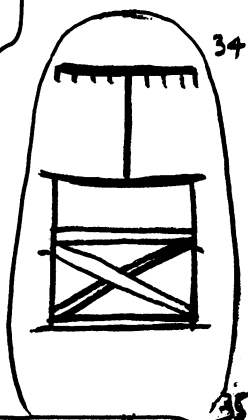
348



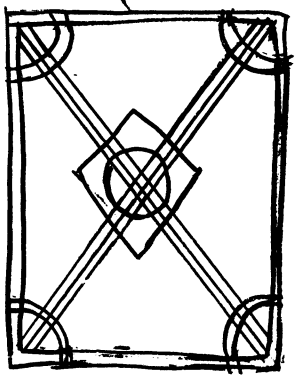
349

350

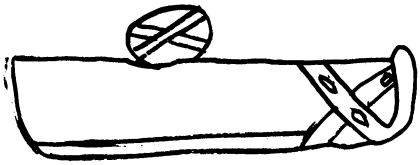
351



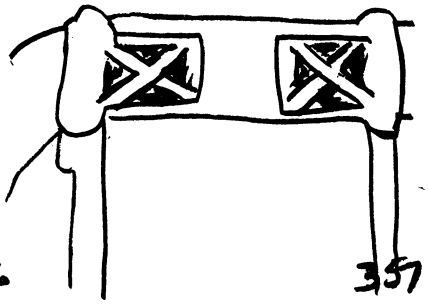
352



355



356



357

Figure

358 Breast ornament, jade tiger, Necaxa, Puebla.
(Covarrubias, 1954, Pl. 6.)

359 Incised fine paste black ware sherd, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 34f, p. 105.)

360 Headdress, rock carving, Chalcatzingo, Morelos.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 24, p. 64.)

361 Rock carving, Chalcatzingo, Morelos.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 24, p. 64.)

362 Rock carving, Chalcatzingo, Morelos.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 24, p. 64.)

363 Incised jadeite celt.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 33, right, p. 73.)

364 Incised jadeite celt.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 34, right, p. 74.)

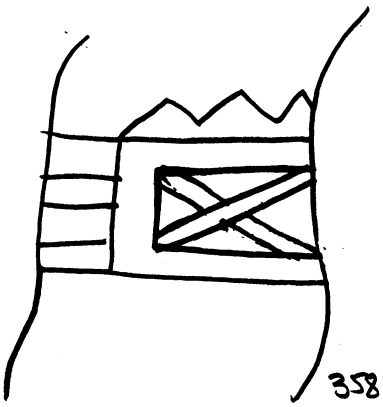
365 Monument 15, San Lorenzo.
(Stirling, 1955, Pl. 20a.)

366 Edge of Altar 4, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 60w, p. 198.)

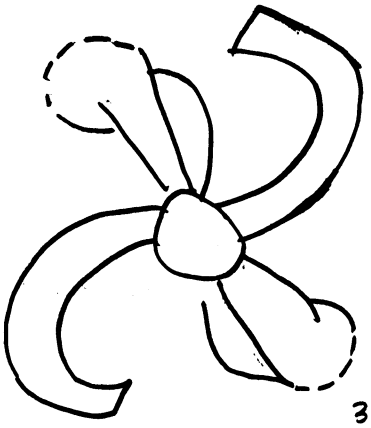
367 Headdress, main figure, Altar 5, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 60x, p. 198.)

368 Ledge, Altar 7, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 60y, p. 198.)

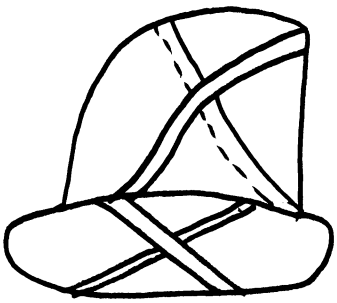
369 Jadeite plaque, Olinalá, Veracruz.
(Covarrubias, 1954, p. 98.)



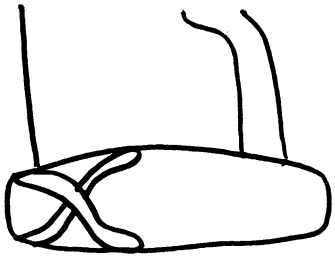
358



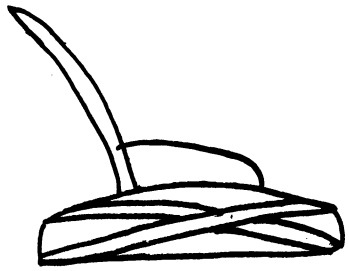
359



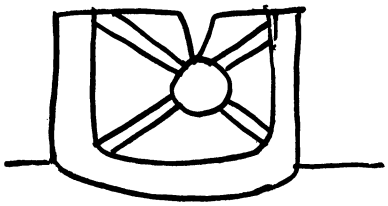
360



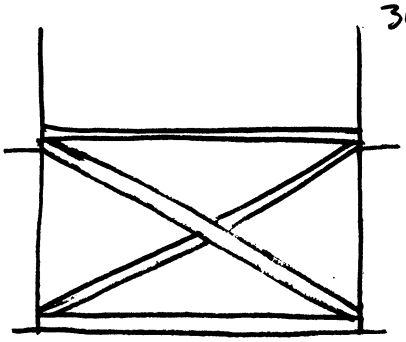
361



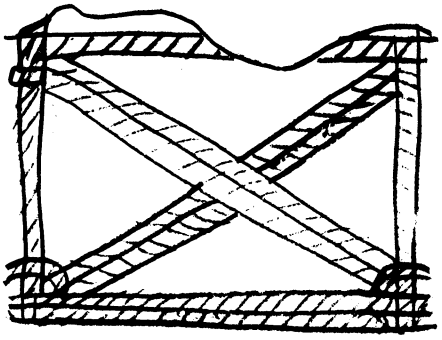
362



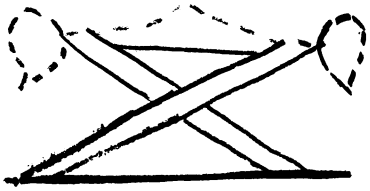
363

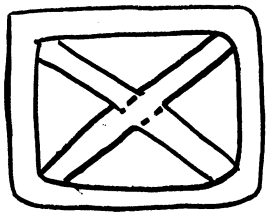


364

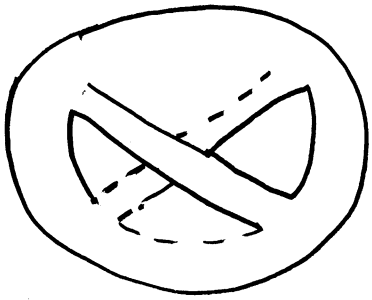


365



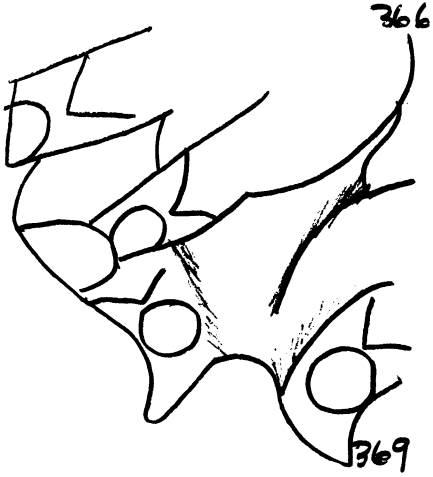


367



368

366



369

Figure

370 Stela C, Tres Zapotes.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 62, p. 206.)

371 Engraved celt, offering 2, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 35b, p. 141.)

372 Engraved celt, offering 2, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 35e, p. 141.)

373 Jade bead, Chiapas.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 36d, p. 143.)

374 Serpentine figurine 8, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 64, left, p. 213.)

375 Rock carving, Piedra Parada, Guatemala.
(Covarrubias, 1957, Fig. 25, left, p. 64.)

376 Wooden mask, insets of jadeite, El Naranjo, Guerrero.
(Covarrubias, 1954, Pl. 9, top.)

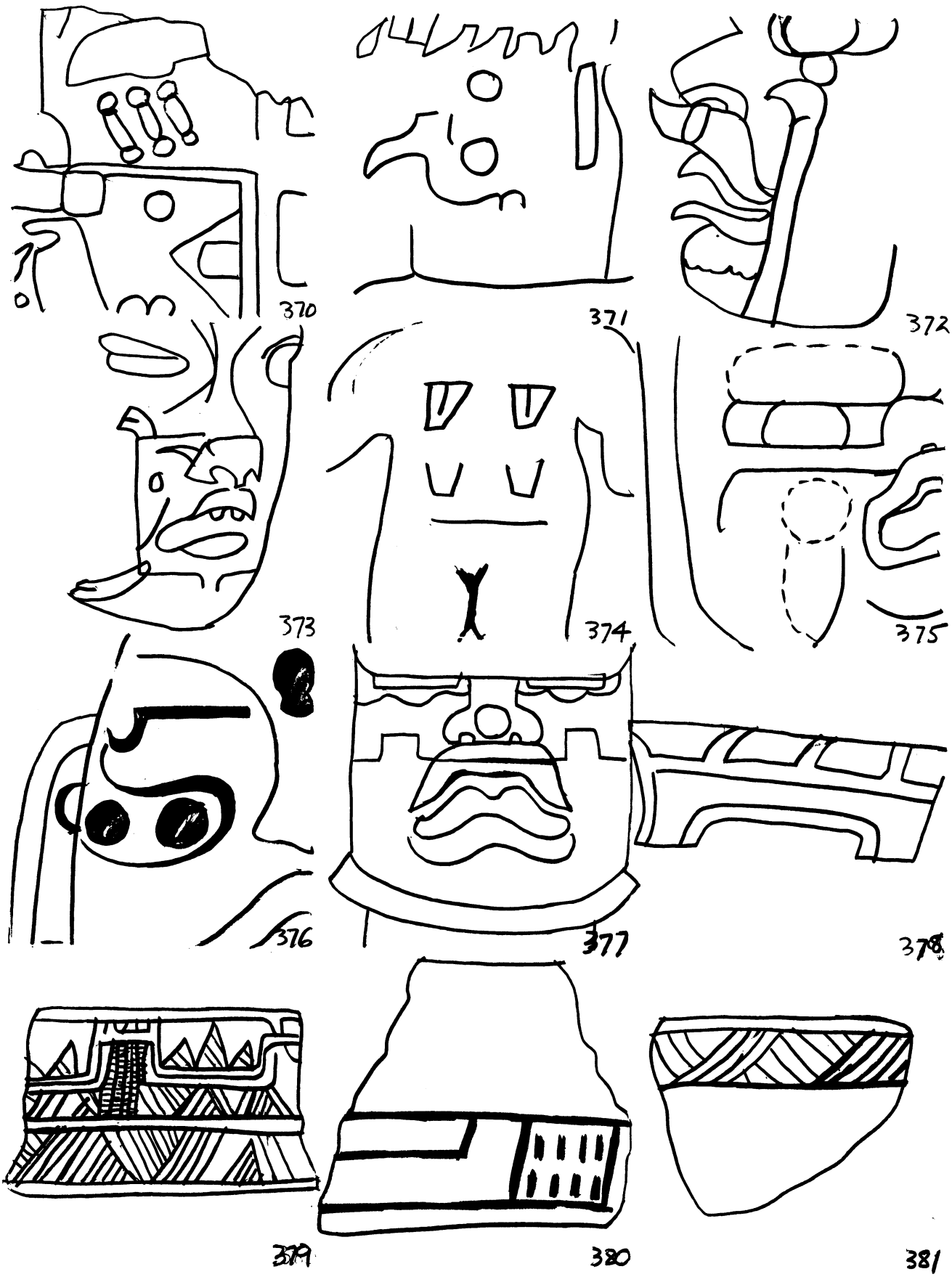
377 Greenstone statue.
(Saville, 1929a, Fig. 98, p. 338.)

378 Top front, Altar 4, La Venta.
(Stirling, 1943, Pl. 37a.)

379 Black incised ware, Tres Zapotes.
(Weiant, 1943, Fig. 22b, p. 47.)

380 Incised coarse buff ware, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 26b, p. 86.

381 Incised fine paste black ware, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 34e, p. 104.)


370
371
372
373
374
375
376
377
378
379
380
381

Figure

382 Incised fine paste black ware, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 34i, p. 105.)

383 Stela 1, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 60g, p. 198.)

384 Monument 4, Headdress, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 60h, p. 198.)

385 Headdress, Stela 2, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 60v, p. 198.)

386 Pectoral, Altar 3, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 60aa, p. 198.)

387 Decorations on bird incised on obsidian core, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 48, p. 170.)

388 Front, Altar 4, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 60bb, p. 198.)

389 Front, Altar 5, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 60cc, p. 198.)

390 Design on engraved celt, Offering 2, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 35d, p. 141.)

391 Accessory designs, engraved celt, Simojovel, Tabasco.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 36a, p. 143.)

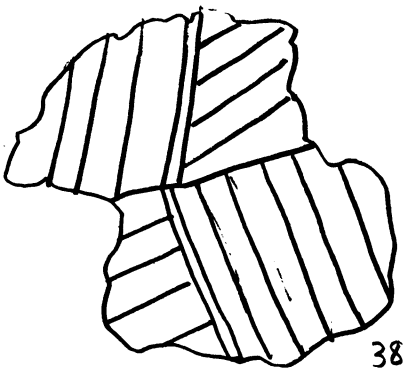
392 Incised design on red painted coarse brown ware, La Venta.
(Drucker, Heizer and Squier, 1959, Fig. 66, p. 215.)

393 Incised coarse buff ware sherd, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 27d, p. 87.)

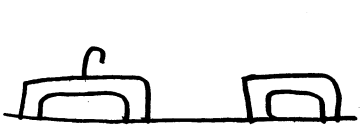
394 Incised red and white ware sherd, Tres Zapotes.
(Weiant, 1943, Fig. 6, p. 35.)

395 Incised coarse brown ware sherd, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, Fig. 32g, p. 95.)

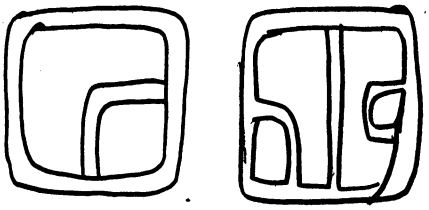
396 Profile serpentine figurine, Cerro de las Mesas.
(Drucker, 1955, Pl. 28a.)



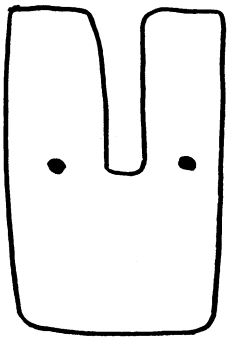
382



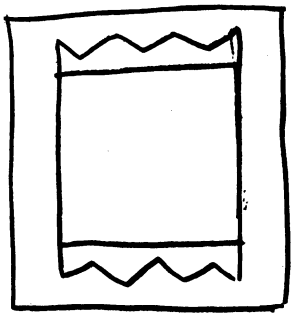
383



384

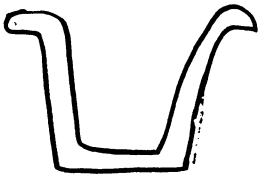


385

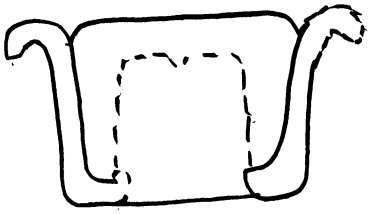


386

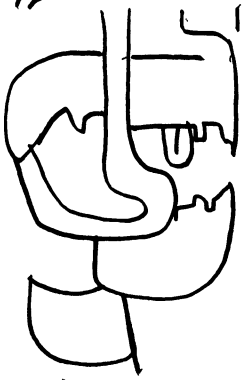
387



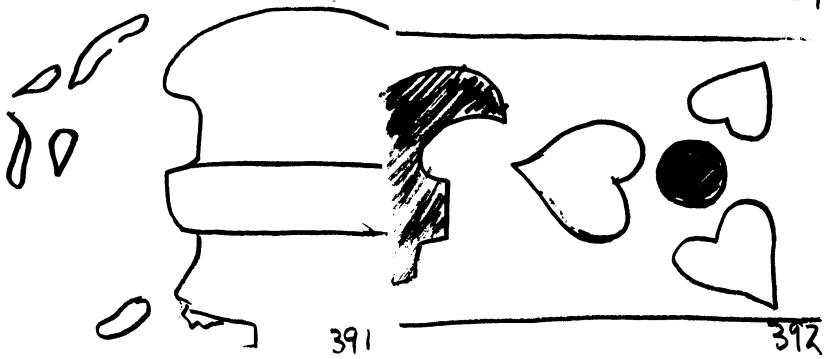
388



389

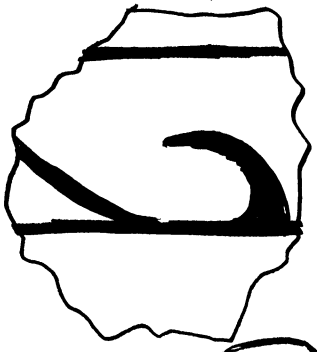


390

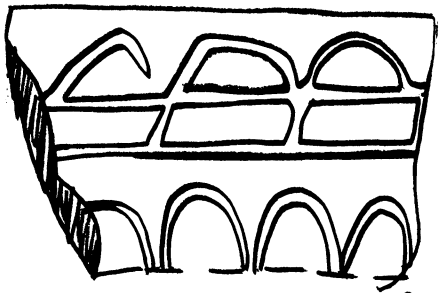


391

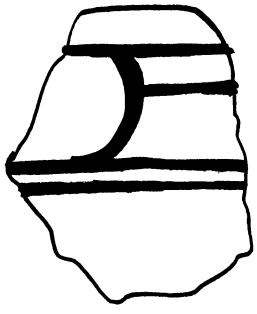
392



393



394



395

396

Figure

397 Stone figurine, Cerro de las Mesas.
(Drucker, 1955, Pl. 32.)

398 Crying baby, Cerro de las Mesas.
(Drucker, 1955, Pl. 27.)

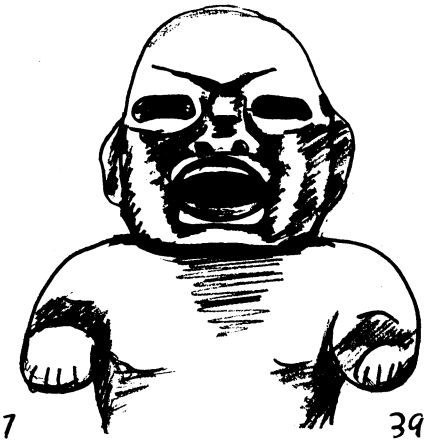
399 Design on "Canoe" plaque, Cerro de las Mesas.
(Drucker, 1955, Fig. 5, p. 49.)

400 Stela 13, Cerro de las Mesas.
(Stirling, 1943, Fig. 12c, p. 38.)

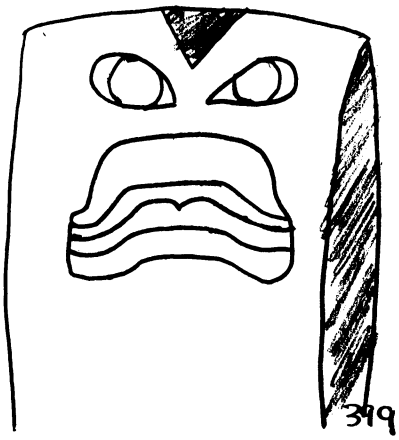
401 Monument 1, Cerro de las Mesas.
(Stirling, 1943, Fig. 13, p. 39 and Pl. 29 top.)

Map Coe's area of Classic Olmec, extended slightly to cover all sites named in this paper.
(After Medellin Zenil, 1960, inset after Stirling, 1943a.)

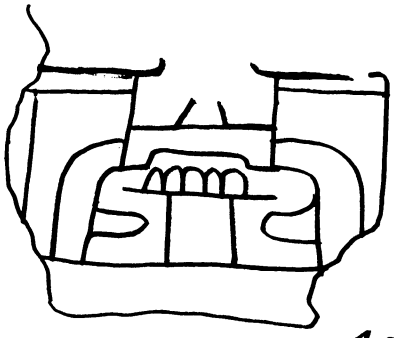
397



398

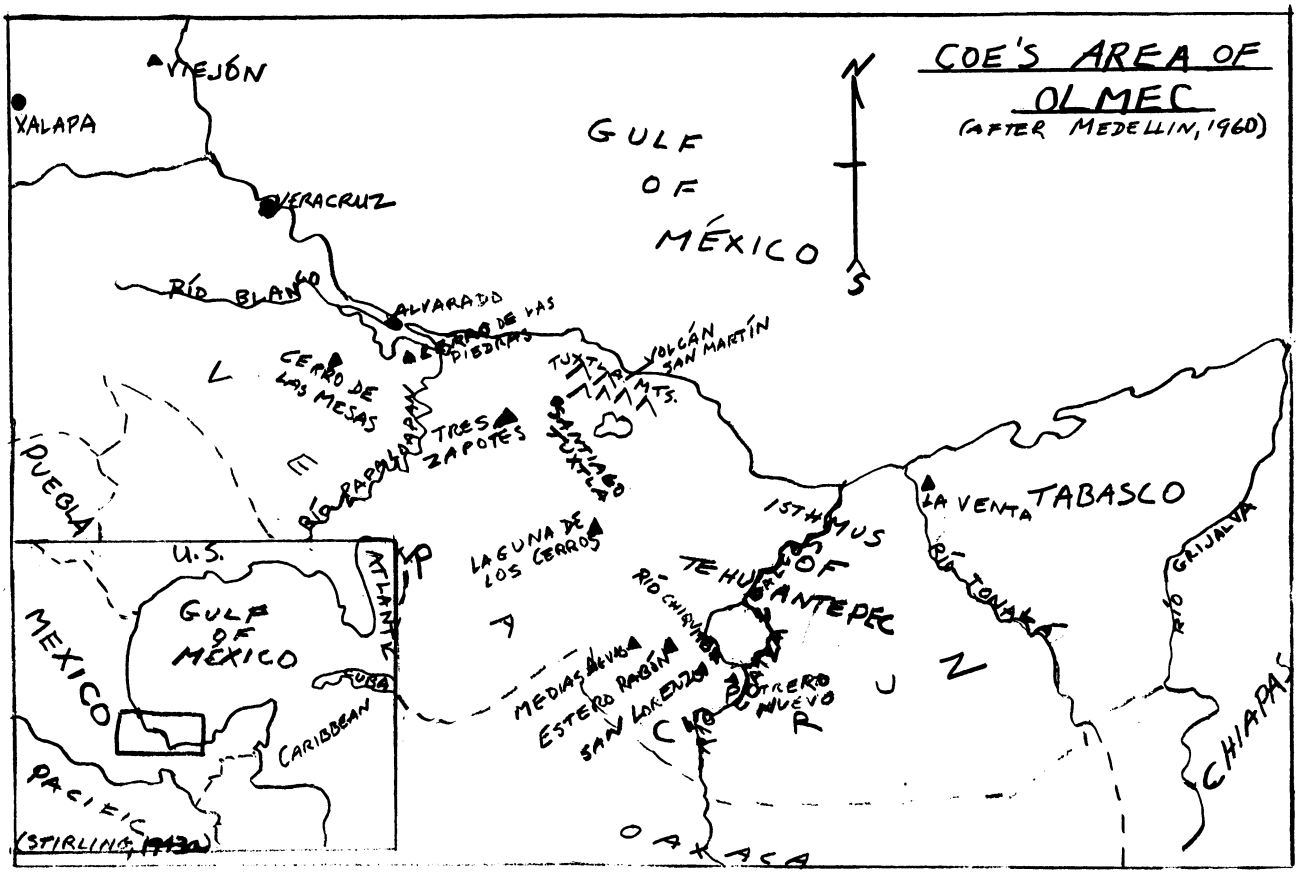


399



400

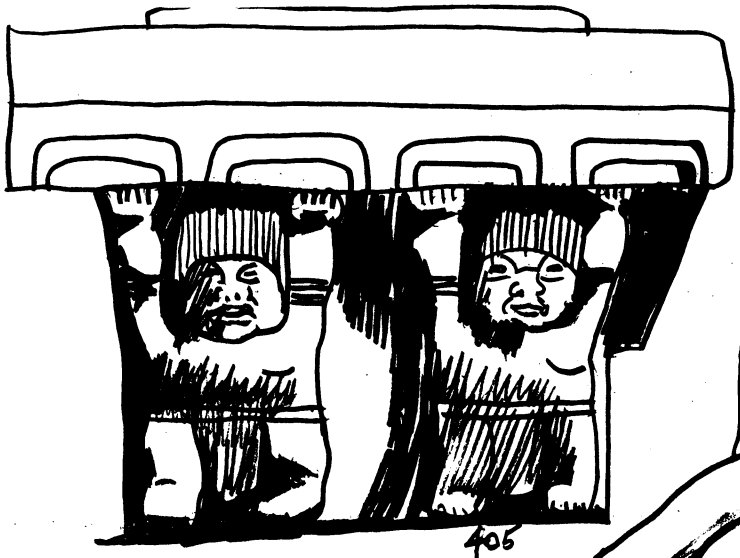
401

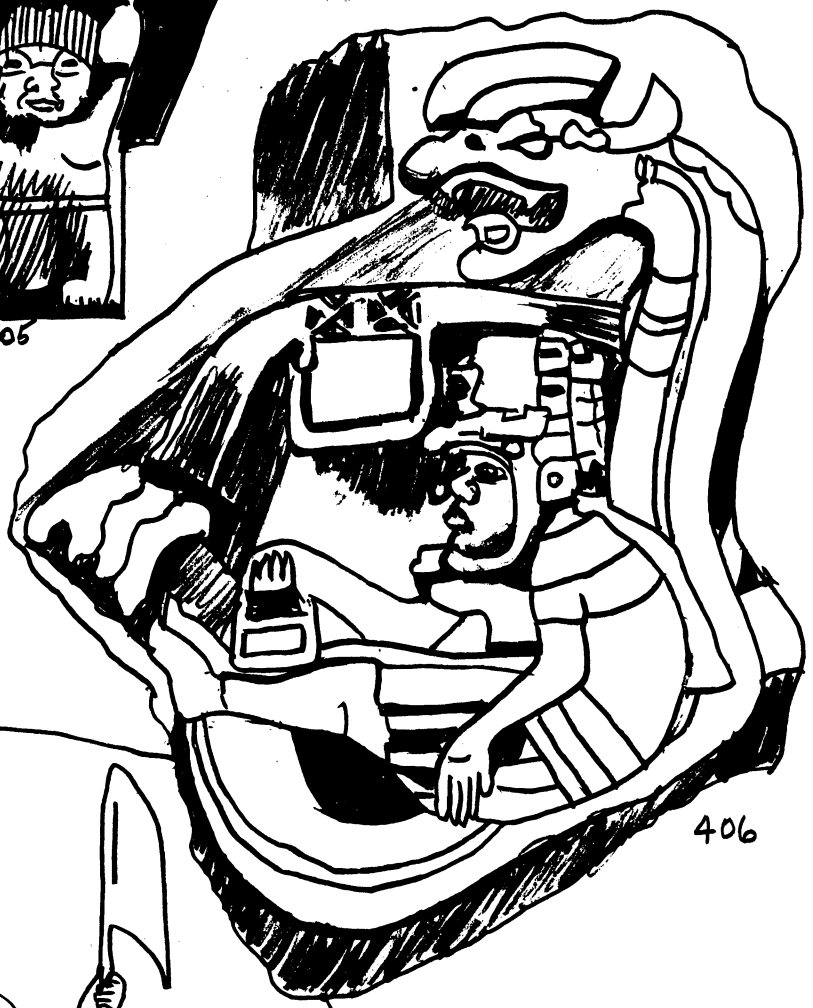


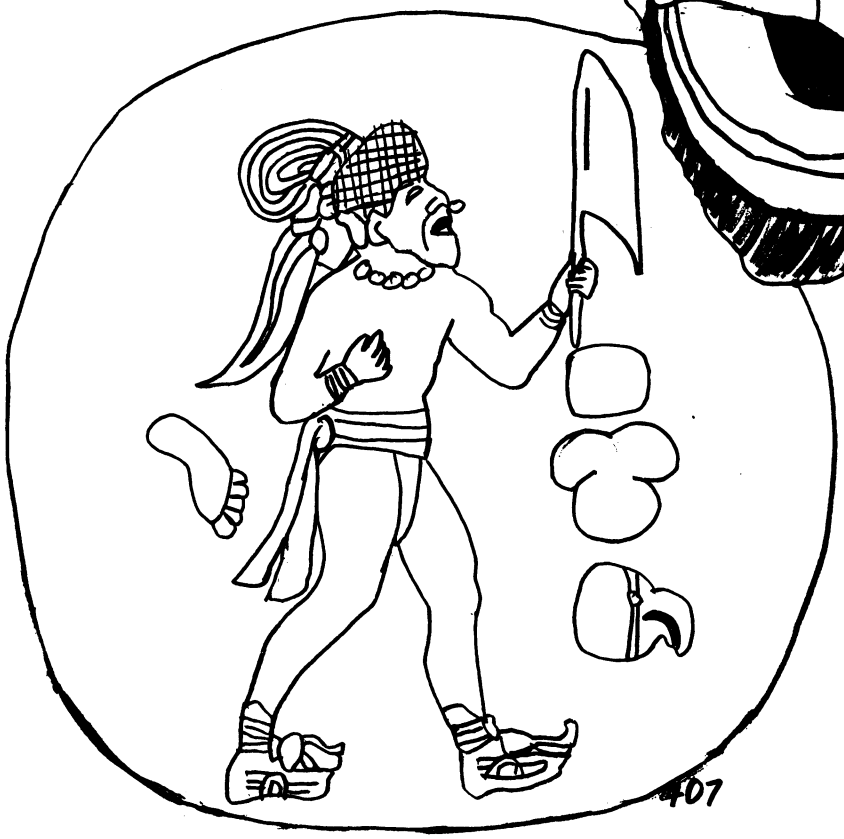
Figure


402
403
404

Figure


406


406


407

Figure

408 Stela 2, La Venta.
(Drucker, 1952, p. 174.)

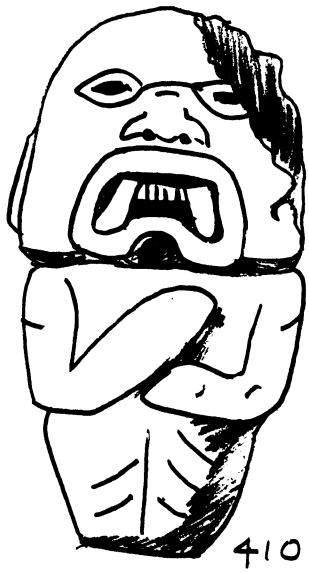
409 Incised jade plaque, provenience unknown.
(Covarrubias, 1957, p. 80.)

410 Stone axe, 31 centimeters high.
(Covarrubias, 1957, p. 72.)

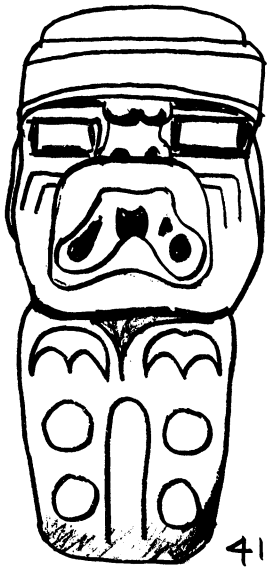
411 Stone axe, 31 centimeters high.
(Covarrubias, 1957, p. 72.)

408

409



410



411

Figure

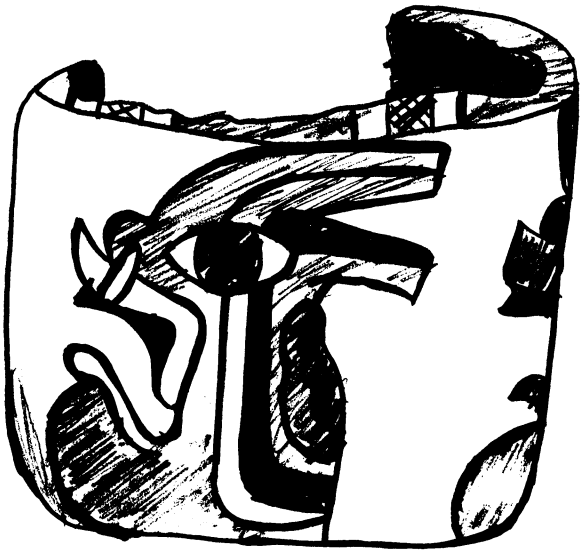
412 Incised painted vase, Veracruz.
(Peterson, 1959, Pl. 2 top.)

413 Clay figurine, Atlihuayán, Morelos (Mus. Nac. Antr. (Mex.).
(Covarrubias, 1957, p. 61.)

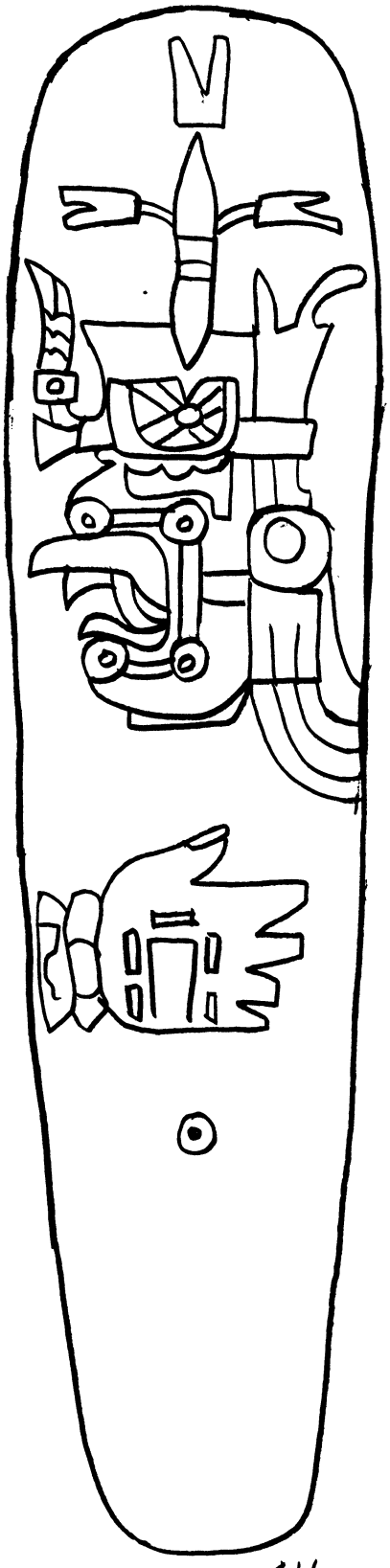
414 Jadeite figurine, El Opeño, Michoacán.
(Covarrubias, 1957, p. 46.)

415 Modeled tab, everted rim, Black Ware bowl, Tres Zapotes.
(Drucker, 1943, p. 62.)

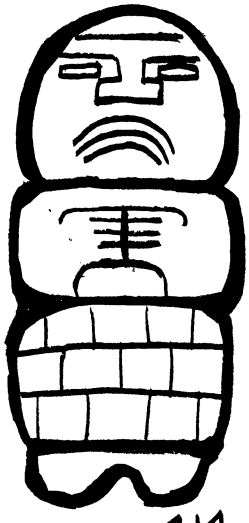
416 Dark green jadeite celt, incised, 35.5 cm. high.
(Covarrubias, 1957, p. 73.)



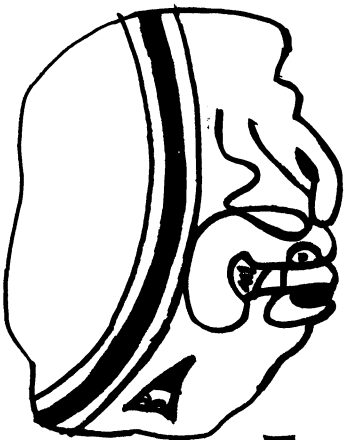
412



413



414



415

416